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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

### ***International Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## International Affairs

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**CEMA Robot Technology Cooperation**

18250066 Moscow *ECONOMICHSKOYE*  
*SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV* in  
Russian No 2, Feb 88 pp 47-50

[Article: "CEMA Robot Technology Cooperation"]

[Cross reference] 18250066 Moscow *EKONOMICHS-*  
*KOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV*  
*SEV* in Russian, No 2, February 1988, publishes on

pages 47-50 an article entitled "'Robot,' 'Interrobot,' and  
Others" in which the journal asks CEMA robot technol-  
ogy specialists questions on cooperation in this field.

A full translation of this article was published in JPRS  
report UEA-88-027 dated 8 July 1988 on pages 29-33.

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**Communist Movement in Africa**

*Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian  
No 4, Apr 88 pp 6-9*

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences N. Kosukhin  
and Candidate of Historical Sciences I. Belikov: "The  
Communist Movement in Africa: Some Questions of  
Strategy and Tactics"]

[Text] The history of the birth and development of the  
communist movement in Africa covers more than six  
decades. Its emergence began after the Great October  
Socialist Revolution and under its immediate influence  
on the basis of the anti-colonial struggle.

The process of the formation and development of Marx-  
ist-Leninist parties on the African continent proceeded  
in very unsystematic fashion. The level of socio-econ-  
omic and political development of the states on the  
continent, the level of class and political maturity, the  
revolutionary experience and organization of the work-  
ing class, the social awareness and the political culture of  
the workers, the degree of influence of various ideologi-  
cal strains and traditional and religious views on the  
masses and other specific historical and national features  
all had a definite influence on the process.

Two principal stages in the emergence of the communist movement on the continent can be delineated. The first stage (1920's to the middle of the 1940's) was marked by the appearance of the first communist parties in the southern and northern parts of the continent, the most developed in social and economic regards. The entry into the second stage (end of the 1950's to the beginning of the 1960's) is typified by the further development of the communist movement under conditions of anti-colonial revolution and the formation of communist and workers' parties in the nationally independent states.

The communist movement in Africa is understood to mean ten communist and workers parties for a prolonged period (beginning in the middle of the 1960s). They are the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria (SVPA), the Egyptian Communist Party (ECP), the Communist Party of Lesotho (CPL), the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS), the Socialist Party of the Workers of Nigeria (SPWN), the Reunion Communist Party (RCP), the Independence and Labor Party of Senegal (ILPS), the Sudanese Communist Party (SCP), the Tunisian Communist Party (TCP) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).<sup>1</sup> Today, however, it is incorrect to reduce the dissemination and development of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the African countries just to the activities of these parties. This process is broader and more complex.

The winning of political sovereignty put before the coalitions of various forces that formed during the struggle for independence the question of the path of further development. The anti-imperialist and patriotic sentiments of the left wing of the national-democratic camp were pushing it toward seeking non-capitalist alternatives. The leading representatives of various segments of African society turned to Marxism-Leninism, including several of its provisions in the revolutionary-democratic ideologies being formulated.

The 1970s, when a qualitative shift in the ideological platforms of a portion of the revolutionary forces occurred compared to the non-proletarian concepts of socialism, was an important stage in the process of the dissemination and perception of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This was expressed in the appearance of a groups of ruling parties (Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Benin) whose program documents consolidated such founding principles as class struggle, the leading role of the working class, the materialistic nature of world views and proletarian internationalism, while Marxism-Leninism was deemed the official ideology. These parties, receiving the titles of vanguard parties of the workers, considered scientific socialism the foundation of their activity in all spheres of social development.

During this same period, new political organizations were developing in a number of African countries with capitalist development that proclaimed themselves the vanguard of the working class and all workers, while scientific socialism was their ideological foundation, for

example the Democratic League—Movement for the Creation of the Party of Labor in Senegal, the National-Democratic Union in Chad, the National-Progressive (Leftist) Party in Egypt and several others.

In the 1970's and 1980's the ideas of scientific socialism acquired widespread popularity among the African intelligentsia. In the course of sharp discussions on ways of achieving progress and genuine national and social liberation, influential groups—radically inclined circles of the intelligentsia oriented toward the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and its development in the process of analyzing African reality—took shape. The representatives of these groups waged active propaganda among the students and office personnel, organized seminars, conferences and symposia and published materials on topical problems.

Thus, by the middle of the 1980's the number of adherents of the ideology of scientific socialism in the African countries had grown. A considerable portion of them have not been embraced by any organizational forms at all, while others have created a number of political parties in the last ten years. These new phenomena are making the issue of determining the "boundaries" of the communist movement in Africa more difficult and are providing a foundation to extend its framework and include new elements in it. "There are over 100 communist, workers' and Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties in the world today," writes, for example, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, M. Sures. "Having long ago stepped outside the borders of Europe, our movement unites over 80 million communists on five continents."

The aforementioned ten Marxist-Leninist parties, meanwhile, occupy a special place among the numerically growing number of organizations that advocate scientific socialism in Africa. They are singled out by a commonality of genesis (the link with the traditions of the Comintern), much historical experience of existence, close ties with international communist movements, and first and foremost with the communist parties of the countries in the socialist community, and a commonality of positions on the fundamental problems of world development. In analyzing the ideological foundation and political postulates of the communist movement on the African continent, we will thus keep this group of parties in mind first and foremost.

\* \* \*

The specific features of world development that were engendered and developed over the course of the whole time period following World War II have manifested themselves distinctly in the 1980's. The world has changed markedly of late and it is continuing to change. A strengthening of the mutual dependence of the countries and peoples of the world is occurring along with the emergence of its integral nature under conditions of diversity and contradiction, the system of world business

ties is growing more complex and the rapid development of scientific and technical revolution is changing the face of whole regions. Humanity is coming up against new problems that were earlier unforeseen. A threat to its very existence has appeared for the first time as a result of nuclear conflict, and the problems of ecology, raw-material resources and the elimination of the deepening polarization between wealth and poverty in various regions of the world have acquired an international nature.

The new realities require a profound interpretation and regard by all of the leading, progressive forces of modern times, including the communists, in their practical activity. "As with much else in the modern world," said CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, speaking to a meeting of the representatives of parties and movements held in Moscow in November of 1987, "the communist movement is in need of renewal, of qualitative changes."<sup>2</sup>

The communist movement, having achieved successes of historical significance and headed up triumphant socialist revolutions and the struggle of the workers against capital and exploitation while making an invaluable contribution to the fight to liberate the colonial peoples, has also not avoided negative and stagnant phenomena. It is thus essential to surmount the lag that has appeared from the requirements of changing reality. The need has also arisen for a new reading and further development of the Marxist-Leninist legacy, a renewal of a number of theories and conceptions and the elimination of simplification and dogmatism.

A recognition of the exceptional importance of deepening the analysis of new phenomena and the reconsideration of a series of former positions and evaluations with the implementation of a theoretical breakthrough on that basis is transpiring in a number of the communist parties of Africa as well. "There should be a revolution," emphasized the general secretary of the Reunion Communist party, P. Verges, at the Moscow meeting, "in the consciousness of everyone who answers for the fate of other people that is comparable to the discoveries of Copernicus. Armed only with the experience of prior generations, we will be able to take on the transformation of today's reality. Nothing will facilitate the correction and improvement of our positions as much as their consideration from a critical angle."<sup>3</sup>

TCP General Secretary M. Harmel noted in his speech that the communists of the liberated countries face the task of deepening Marxist analysis "to define the specific features of the new stage that the liberation movement has entered with all of the complexities and problems that distinguish it from that which was in the past, especially in the 1950's and 1960's."<sup>4</sup>

The communist parties of the African countries have yet to realize the aim of being transformed into mass parties, and the predominant portion of the working class and

other segments of the workers remains outside of their influence. The activity of the African communists is connected with great difficulties and is transpiring under conditions typified by a low level of class consciousness, organization, educational and cultural level of the proletariat, a scattered nature across various sectors of the economy, powerful pressure on it from the enormous body of the unemployed, lumpen and paupers, the strength of patriarchal traditions and norms, the scattered nature of the leftist groups and the limitations or outright bans on the activity of communist parties in some countries. The efforts of the communists to mobilize the masses for political struggle have been seriously complicated by the worsening socio-economic situation in the states of the continent. "In the face of this danger," said SCP Central Committee General Secretary M. Nugud at the Moscow meeting, "the peoples of our countries are so absorbed with concern for a crust of daily bread and a swallow of water that it impedes the expansion of political activeness to a considerable degree."<sup>5</sup>

The directions, forms and methods of the work of communists in the African countries among the masses, along with the difficulties and problems that have arisen on this path, are deserving of separate research. It is obvious, however, that the effectiveness of the day-to-day work of the communist parties, an expansion of their influence and the results of their efforts to mobilize the workers in the struggle for political and social change depend largely on the well-foundedness and vitality of the strategic course of the communist parties. The authors will thus concentrate their attention in this article on an analysis of the theoretical program of the communist movement in Africa, undertaking an effort to reveal in what directions the process of ideological and theoretical renewal and a review of the considerations and postulates that do not correspond to reality can be accomplished.

\* \* \*

The main initial principle for analysis by the communists of the African countries of paths of social progress on the continent remains determining the nature of the contemporary era as an era of the confrontation of two opposing socio-economic systems—capitalism and socialism. "With the transformation of capitalism into imperialism and the entry of mankind into the era of transition from capitalism to socialism, the national-democratic revolution is becoming, in its basic substance, a part of the world revolutionary process, a part of the world socialist revolution, in the modern era."<sup>6</sup>

This sort of phrasing was programmatic in the past for the whole communist movement and was inevitably present in party documents. Accumulated experience, however, has introduced corrections into the description of the world revolutionary process that take into account its complex and multivariied substance. The discussion today concerns the necessity of interpreting the fact that

the revolutionary process—in all of its sweep and complexity—is just a constituent element of overall social progress. Under contemporary conditions, the countries of the liberated countries are proceeding more and more from the fact that national-democratic revolution is a quite prolonged and independent stage of revolutionary transformation with its own specific problems, particular composition of motive forces and nature of political power. The theory of “world socialist revolution,” however, is still retained in the documents of a number of communist parties.

The winning of political independence by the African countries did not bring them genuine liberation, since imperialism has continued to exploit them through economic controls and neocolonialist methods. Relations of dependence, the communists feel, continue to have a decisive influence on the internal socio-economic processes of the countries on the continent. This was reflected in the formation of structures characteristic of dependent capitalist development.

The capitalist institution, which has yet to adopt completely mature forms and has not yet achieved quantitative predominance, has become the leading one and plays a defining role in the socio-economic structure of these countries, subordinating to itself and permeating all remaining institutions and dictating to them the directions of their evolution. This poorly developed capitalism, however, emphasizes the communists, cannot extract the African countries from their backwardness. “The congenital defects of Senegalese capitalism,” say, for example, the program documents of the ILPS, “lead to the fact that it has proven unable to play an independent role and is doomed to move in the orbit of the international monopolies for the reproduction of backwardness and dependence.”<sup>7</sup>

The level of capitalist development varies in different regions of the continent, but almost everywhere it is dependent capitalism, closely linked with the imperialist centers. “The years of rule of Nimiery,” notes A. Salim, a member of the leadership of the SCP, in one of his articles, “have become testimony to the collapse of the path of dependent development and the complete inability of neocolonialist methods for solving the problems of economic growth and surmounting backwardness and lack of development. It must be emphasized with all certainty that the catastrophic situation is not the result of any separate ‘errors’ or ‘miscalculations.’ It is the natural and inevitable result of capitalist orientation.”

In Africa, the communists note, capitalist development has demonstrated even less of an ability for the radical transformation of society than in other regions of the developing world. There are neither the phenomenon of the “newly industrialized countries” nor widespread technological shifts associated with scientific and technical progress on the African continent, as opposed to Asia.

In their analysis of the social-class nature of power in the countries of capitalist development, the African communists proceed from the fact that by the time they obtain political independence, a national bourgeoisie class has not yet taken shape in the overwhelming majority of the countries. Under these conditions, imperialism has wagered on the formation of the bureaucratic bourgeois segment as its chief ally. The existence of this group and its enrichment are accomplished through their dominant position in the power apparatus, the utilization of the state sector in their interests and close collaboration with foreign monopoly capital. Around it are concentrated representatives of the new compradore bourgeoisie, its financial and trade segments and elements employed in parasitic types of enterprise (mediation, brokerage and the like) along with the technocratic upper levels of the civil and military apparatus.

Once in power, these groups, the communists emphasize, demonstrate a complete inability to accomplish revolutionary changes in productive forces, accelerate the development of more progressive industrial relations or destroy feudal methods of exploitation. In describing the situation in Senegal, Politburo member and Secretary of the ILPS Central Committee S.P. Gey writes: “Notwithstanding the existence of a modern capitalist sector... petty-trade production remains predominant even today (moreover entangled in a web of pre-capitalist relations).” The bureaucratic bourgeois segment and the elements connected with it in a number of cases moreover even impede the formation of a national entrepreneurial bourgeoisie and the strengthening of its position, seeing it as a competitor. The ruling groups of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie are closely linked with foreign monopoly capital and “have become an organic part of world imperialism.”<sup>8</sup>

This dependence is expressed in the economic sphere in the conducting of “open-door” policies in relation to foreign capital and the granting of the broadest opportunities and privileges to it, even to the detriment of national enterprise, and the orientation of all of the economic life of the country to stimulation from without, which weakens its internal dynamics and makes it extremely vulnerable, subject to the negative effects of competitive market conditions and crises in the developed capitalist countries. On the political plane, this course is expressed by unity with imperialism in the international arena and following in the wake of its policies to the detriment of national interests along with inclusion in its aggressive plans.

The communists are not inclined to simplify the situation and relegate all of the ruling groups in the African countries with capitalist development to the ranks of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. They note that the national bourgeoisie has been confirmed in power in a number of African countries. Despite certain differences with imperialism, however, it displays a readiness to collaborate with it, including in neocolonial structures. Thus, in the opinion of Nigerian Marxists, the economic boom

engendered by the sharp growth in oil income and the accelerated development of national enterprise have not led to a decline in the neocolonial dependence of the country or a weakening of the position of foreign capital, while the civilian government that came to power in 1979 has expressed first and foremost the interests of the entire compradore and bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

\* \* \*

Thus, in the overwhelming majority of the African countries, including those where communist parties are operating, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the parasitic and reactionary elements affiliated with it, linked with imperialism, are the chief obstacle on the path of social progress. "The principal impediment standing in the path of the country's progress," point out the Moroccan communists in their program document, "is imperialism and the bourgeois-bureaucratic, feudal upper levels associated with it that retain economic and ideological positions in the country as before." The program of the ILPS stresses the paramount necessity of resolving the contradictions between the patriotic forces of Senegal and imperialism along with the elimination of the sway of bureaucratic capital—"the chief conduit of neocolonialist policies and the chief culprit in the bad social state of the country."<sup>9</sup>

The resolution of the contradictions between imperialism and its local allies—the compradore and bureaucratic bourgeoisie—on the one hand, and the broad patriotic and democratic forces on the other, is considered by the communists of the African countries to be the chief condition for the entry of the countries on the continent onto the path of genuinely independent development and social progress. And this requires the accomplishment of national-democratic revolution.

This fundamental theoretical postulate is shared by all of the communist parties and comprises the foundation of the strategic policy fixed in their program documents, but the concrete situation has an important influence on the substantiation of this stage for each individual party. Under the specific conditions extant in southern Africa, for example, the advancement of the task of implementing national-democratic revolution by the South African Communist Party is explained by the necessity of eliminating the system of racial oppression, that "special type of colonialism"—apartheid. "The South African Communist Party sees its immediate and chief task in work to create a unified front of national liberation," says the SACP program. "It strives to merge the oppressed and democratically inclined people of all segments and classes for the cause of national-democratic revolution, called upon to eliminate the rule of the whites. The national liberation of the African people will be the basic substance of this revolution."

The implementation of national-democratic revolution in Algeria was begun by the revolutionary democrats under the leadership of the FLN. Under these conditions, the Algerian communists (SVPA) are advancing a program aimed at consolidating the conquests that have been made and further deepening them.

The concept of national-democratic revolution, occupying a central place in the ideo-political platform of the communist movement in Africa, is a historically essential step on the path of achieving the ultimate aim—the socialist transformation of society in the liberated countries. "In the contemporary historical era," emphasizes a document adopted by the participants in the first Conference of the Communist Parties of Sub-Saharan and Southern Africa in August of 1978, "it is impossible to overcome the political, economic and social crisis in our countries without a determined advance toward socialism... Neither the elimination of centuries of backwardness nor any other radical socio-economic progress is possible without entry onto the path of socialist renewal." National-democratic revolution is thus considered a stage in which not only are anti-imperialist, general democratic and, to a certain extent (differing in each specific instance), anti-exploitative tasks resolved, but also where favorable conditions are created for the further fight for socialism. The possibility and necessity of such an approach to national-democratic revolution, the communists point out, is defined by the nature of the contemporary era and its substance.

In the stage of national-democratic revolution, notes S.P. Gey, a member of the leadership of the ILPS, "its anti-imperialist (the elimination of the sway of foreign capital and neocolonial orders) and more and more evident anti-capitalist traits (elimination of social and economic foundations of class exploitation) are intertwined." At the same time, the program documents of some communist parties stress that in the stage of preparing and implementing national-democratic revolution, this "anti-capitalism" is limited and aimed only against the domination of the bureaucratic and monopolistic bourgeoisie.

The program documents of the communist parties of the African countries define the principal motive force of national-democratic revolution as the working class, and cite as its allies the petty bourgeoisie, the semi-proletariat, the revolutionary intelligentsia, the landless segments in the villages (agricultural workers), the peasantry (chiefly the poor and middle-class), the patriotically inclined portion of the middle class, office personnel and the national bourgeoisie.

The scale of the tasks of this stage are such, the communist parties feel, that their realization cannot be a matter for just a single class, since, first of all, not one of them has at its disposal enough forces for its and, second, the goals of national-democratic revolution are close to a number of classes and social segments and coincide with their interests. In favor of the merging and unification of



these forces into a democratic front for the fight against imperialism and neocolonial orders, the communists have a differentiated approach to evaluating the nature and limits of the revolutionary potential of each class, social segment and group.

#### Conclusion to follow

#### Footnotes

1. Some of the enumerated parties have had different names in various periods of their activity.
2. PRAVDA, 5 Nov 87.
3. PRAVDA, 9 Nov 87.
4. PRAVDA, 10 Nov 87.
5. PRAVDA, 6 Nov 87.
6. Program of the Egyptian Communist Party. Beirut, 1980, p 116 (in Arabic).
7. GESTU, 1984, No 12, p 8.
8. Program of the Egyptian Communist Party, p 114.
9. GESTU, p 10.

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#### AAPSO Documentary Film

*Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian*  
No 4, Apr 88 p 9

[Unattributed news item: "AAPSO—On the Screen"]

[Text] The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa has held the premier of the documentary film "The Solidarity of Peoples in Action." It was shot in the Central Studio for Documentary Films at the order of the Organization for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa (AAPSO) and was timed to coincide with its 30th anniversary.

The film made broad use of materials from the film archives of the GDR, Egypt, India, the Soviet Union and other countries, making it possible to trace the glorious route of this international public organization of the states of Asia and Africa from the moment of its creation at the end of 1957 in Cairo to the present day. The movie cameras recorded heroic and moving episodes in the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples for their independence: the courageous resistance of the Egyptians to triple aggression, the staunchness of the Vietnamese in their prolonged and bloody struggle with the mightiest imperialist power on earth, the doggedness and selflessness of Algeria, battling against the French colonizers,

the unyielding determination of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique to throw off the Portuguese colonial yoke and many others. The filmmakers were able to show the audience, with the aid of shining and memorable frames, the role and significance of the mass Afro-Asian solidarity movement, which rendered invaluable assistance and support to the peoples that were entering onto the path of national and social liberation.

The creators of the film also related to the extent they could the current affairs and concerns of AAPSO—the fight for peace and nuclear disarmament, for economic decolonization, a restructuring of international economic relations on just democratic foundations, the solution of the indebtedness problem and for the socio-economic development of the countries of Asia and Africa.

It is no secret that certain difficulties have appeared recently in the work of AAPSO, especially as concerns informational and propaganda work. The permanent secretariat of the organization still does not even have a press organ intended for the general reader.

In this sense, the film "The Solidarity of Peoples in Action," in English and intended for showing in the countries of Asia and Africa, is not a retrospective showing of the activity of AAPSO over the last 30 years alone. It also points toward new forms of work to strengthen the solidarity of the peoples of the two continents.

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#### Obstacles Hindering Near East Settlement

*Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian*  
No 4, Apr 88 pp 10-13

[Article by G. Guchetl and Candidate of Historical Sciences I. Zvyagelskaya under the rubric "The Arab World": "Seeking Ways of Consolidation"]

[Text] The end of the 1970's and first half of the 1980's were difficult times for the Arab world. The recoil of the national-liberation movement in individual sectors, crisis phenomena in the revolutionary process, the growth of economic problems, access to the political arena and the activation of the "Islamists" along with the military and political pressure of Israel and imperialism—all of these essentially diverse factors in the aggregate have facilitated a growth in centrifugal tendencies. This period is also notable for the deepening schism among the ranks of the Arabs, which is directly connected with the development of the Arab-Israeli armed clash.

As a result of the Camp David accords and the separate Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty concluded with the mediation of the United States, Egypt—the largest state in the

Arab world and possessing the most significant economic resources and military potential, its recognized leader—has left the united front of the struggle. The Iran-Iraq war that was unleashed in September of 1980 has led to a further worsening of intra-Arab relations: the majority of the Arab states have supported Iraq, while some have gone to the side of Iran. The Israeli aggression against Lebanon in 1982 gave further impetus to inter-Arab contradictions. This time they affected the Palestinian Resistance Movement (PRM), and moreover the line of schism passed not only between the various Palestinian organizations included in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), but through the central organization—Al Fatah—as well. The relations of the PLO with Syria also worsened. In Lebanon itself, the clashes between the Shiite groups and the Palestinians took on considerable scale and spilled over into the fratricidal “war of the camps.” Many Western and Israeli mass media noted that the dream of the Tel Aviv leadership—Arab fighting Arab—was beginning to come true.

Signs have recently begun to appear that the Arab world is trying to overcome the difficulties that it ran up against at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. It is not proceeding simply or smoothly. Searches for ways of interaction in the foreign-policy sphere are being slowed up by the social and political heterogeneity of the Arab world, the significant gap in the level of economic development of individual states, growth in local nationalism and religious and ideological differences. Personal relations, rivalries and competitive considerations are also playing a negative role. A trend toward devising common approaches to the solution of the most acute political problems of the Near East is gradually carving its way nonetheless.

The Amman summit conference of November 1987 was an important milestone on this path. Its resolutions fixed a certain level of consent regarding the directions for settling regional conflicts. On the one hand, the very fact of the convocation of this forum after a five-year lapse testified to the readiness of the overwhelming majority of Arabs for joint discussion of the issues troubling them. On the other hand, it also revealed the presence of serious differences. The discussions proceeded with difficulty, briefings were canceled and plenary sessions were postponed. Upon the conclusion of the meeting, Libya dissociated itself from the resolutions. One reason that determined its positions was evidently the absence in the documents of a condemnation of American imperialism, which bears chief responsibility for the preservation of regional tensions.

The problem of restoring diplomatic relations with Egypt evoked great disputes, but the League of Arab Nations found a compromise version. Rejecting the principle of consensus, it insisted on leaving the restoration of such ties to the discretion of each Arab state. The convergence of a number of Arab states with Egypt right after the conclusion of the conference was brought about

both by corrections made by the Egyptian leadership in its foreign policy and by the need for Arab cohesion in the face of the dangerous situation that had taken shape in the Persian Gulf region and the worsening Near East conflict.

Egypt had been in foreign-policy isolation for over nine years. The Arab states had broken diplomatic relations with Cairo and adopted sanctions against the Sadat regime as a sign of protest against the policy of capitulation it was following. With the coming to power of H. Mubarak, the foreign policy of Egypt was subjected to review. Despite the presence of such “limitations” as the economic “ties” to the United States and the treaty with Israel, the new Egyptian leadership gave cause to understand that it did not intend to follow quietly in the wake of American policy. They refused to accept Washington’s view of the Arab-Israeli conflict as being the result of the “intrigues” of the USSR.

The confrontational and anti-Soviet thrust of the actions of the Reagan administration in the region, manifested especially clearly at the beginning of the 1980s, and the policy of the “globalization” of conflicts that it pursues, dragging its “friends” into the strategy of confrontation with the USSR, was not accepted in Egypt. The then deputy prime minister, Mustafa Khalil, designated the fundamental difference of the Egyptian approach to regional problems from the American one in the following manner: “In formulating its position, the United States sees everything that happens only in the context of differences with the Soviet Union. We answer: ‘There is only one threat to the region—Israel—and its incursion into Lebanon has proven with all clarity that Israel is the chief threat to the stability of the Arab countries.’”

Egypt has taken steps to diversifying its sources of arms and to develop its own military industry so as to reduce its military and political dependence on the United States somewhat. It has also displayed great interest in improving relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Cairo has actually frozen the treaty with Israel, rejecting the development of economic, trade and cultural ties. The Egyptian ambassador was recalled from Tel Aviv in 1982 in response to the Israeli aggression against Lebanon. The “non-Camp David” approach of Egypt has aroused disappointment and irritation in the United States and Israel. The journal *JEUNE AFRIQUE* cited the words of a highly placed Tel Aviv figure who declared bluntly that in Israel “there is a feeling of disappointment with Egypt today. The peace agreements have not been openly denounced, and moreover, Egyptian judges are seeing that they are not breached. But the sense of these agreements itself is being reduced to the level of strict observance of the letter of them to the detriment of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty.”

The rejection of the Sadat legacy in its most odious forms has also presupposed the development of a new approach to the Near East conflict. Egypt has supported the idea of settlement within the framework of an international peace conference with PLO participation in spite of the agreements fixed in the Camp David documents on resolving the Palestinian problem without the Palestinians and at their expense. The position of Cairo was formulated in particular by the deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Esmat Abdel Meguid, during his visit to the USSR. He declared that "the key to an all-encompassing, just and lasting peace in the region is the fulfillment of the UN resolutions that envisage the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab lands and the realization by the Palestinian people of their legal rights, including the right to self-determination under the leadership of the PLO—its sole legal representative."

The positive elements in Egyptian policy did not go unnoticed in the Arab world. In January of 1987 a resolution was adopted to restore the membership of Egypt in the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and relations were normalized in advance with Jordan and contacts were improved with the PLO, Iraq, Algeria, Morocco and Lebanon.

The decision of the Amman conference gave the "green light" to the restoration of foreign-policy ties with Cairo on the part of the Arab capitals. Soon a number of states, chiefly the Persian Gulf countries, sent their ambassadors to Egypt. The interest of these countries in Egyptian support was dictated first and foremost by the escalation of the military threat in this region.

Since the end of 1987, the danger of the Arab states located on the Persian Gulf being drawn into the Iran-Iraq conflict has taken on real outline. The constant attacks on tankers, the mining of the waters and the shooting of the territory of Kuwait has led to the fact that the curve of military tensions has turned sharply upward. It should be noted that the Council for Collaboration of the Arab States of the Persian Gulf has undertaken efforts to reconcile Iran and Iraq, striving to bring matters if not to a complete settlement, which, taking into account the negative position of Teheran, seems highly improbable, at least to a certain localization of the conflict and keeping it from spreading to other coastal states. Such efforts, however, have not had positive results.

The presence of an enormous naval armada of the United States and its Western European allies in the Persian Gulf is also evoking great alarm and concern among the Arab countries. On the one hand, these countries are inclined to consider such a presence as a form of protection from encroachments by Iran, but on the other, they take into account that the "excessive"

reaction of the American navy to events and their gradual involvement in military operations raises the level of tensions, which is fraught with unforeseeable consequences.

In the extant conditions, the question of obtaining support from Egypt, which is ready to send advisers and ship weapons to the Persian Gulf, takes on paramount practical significance for the Arab states.

The Arab-Israeli conflict nonetheless was and remains the chief cause of the explosive situation in the Near East. The war between Iran and Iraq has pushed it into the background somewhat lately, conditioning the scope of military operations and the extent of their negative influence on the situation in the Arab world. As the events in the Near East show, the link between the situation in the Persian Gulf and the Arab-Israeli conflict is becoming more and more rigid, and its chief vector is moreover aimed at schism in the Arab world. The mobilization of Arab-wide efforts to fight for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression and a just resolution of the Palestinian problem has been made more difficult as a result of the Iran-Iraq war. It has made it easier for Israel to pursue an aggressive policy in Lebanon and to implement measures for annexing the occupied Arab territories and has facilitated the military involvement of the United States in the region.

All of this has weakened the position of the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli conflict and has hindered them from making use of the positive potential of the Arab summit conference in Fez (September 1982), where an Arab-wide platform for a settlement that meets their national interests and takes Near East realities into account was developed for the first time.

A policy of surmounting differences of opinion that impede the solution of the problems facing the Arab world was planned even before the Amman summit conference. The 18th United Session of the National Council of Palestine that took place in April of 1987 in Algiers in particular made a significant contribution to the resurrection of the collaboration of Palestinian organizations on an anti-imperialist basis. There are naturally still plenty of difficulties before the PRM. They are associated with the loss of support bases in Lebanon, the scattered geographic nature of the organizations and the specific nature of their relations with the governments of the Arab countries.

It is fully understandable that in the extant situation, the task of consolidating their forces and developing common and coordinated approaches and ways of solving the urgent problems of the Near East, and first and foremost the conflict with Israel, has arisen in all its magnitude.

The summary document of the Amman conference supported the idea of convening an international conference under the aegis of the UN with the participation of all of the interested parties, including the PLO, as well as the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

At the extraordinary session of the League of Arab Nations at the foreign-minister level that was held at the beginning of this year in Tunis, which discussed the situation in the territories occupied by Israel, its participants demonstrated their determination to continue to hew to a common line and expressed firm support for the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference on the Near East.

During his visit to Moscow in December of last year, King Hussein of Jordan pointed out the fundamental commonality of the approach of the USSR and the Arabs toward the problem of the freedom of peoples and the resolution of conflicts between states by peaceful means. "The commonality of our views in relation to the problem itself and the choice of means for resolving it successfully is based on this," declared the Jordanian leader, "in the same manner as is our call for the convocation of an international peace conference on the Near East."

At the end of January 1988, the president of Egypt, H. Mubarak, visited the countries of Western Europe and the United States. In the opinion of foreign commentators, the political goals of the visit can be reduced to attracting the attention of the West to the tragic situation of the Palestinians, subjected to the cruelest repressions in the occupied territories, and furthering the creation of conditions for the fastest possible convening of an international conference. The head of the Egyptian state pointed out in particular that the further dragging out of a settlement to the crisis could lead to an explosion in the region.

The readiness of the Arabs for a constructive settlement in the Near East is opposed by the obstructionist policies of Tel Aviv, which enjoys the utmost support of Washington. Although there is talk in both capitals of an international peace conference from time to time, they see it as some sort of international cover for essentially separate agreements.

Judging from everything, Israel and the United States are proceeding from the suppositions that the Arab-Israeli conflict can be safely relegated to the periphery of events and does not require the adoption of urgent measures. In the expression of American analysts, the Palestinian problem "had been dampened," while the Israeli leaders felt that they had been able to create an irreversible situation on the lands that had been seized that would forever rule out the possibility of the realization by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination. Such calculations were destroyed by the popular uprising that broke out in December of 1987 on the West Bank and in Gaza and East Jerusalem.

The courageous resistance of the Palestinians, supported by a protest strike of Arabs in Israel, has shown that the Tel Aviv policy of an "iron fist" has reached a dead end, and that the departure from a businesslike search for ways of breaking down the conflict is fraught with serious consequences for Israel itself.

Under conditions where the international community is expressing more and more concern over the development of events in the Near East, new attempts of the United States to foist separate solutions that have already proven their groundlessness on the Arab side do not meet the interests of a settlement. The proposal of U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz to begin negotiations between Israel and Jordan with U.S. mediation to introduce "limited self-government" for the Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza, with the ultimate status of the territories to be determined at a subsequent stage, has been regarded by PLO leaders as an intention to "play up" again to those forces in the Israeli government that are betting on the annexation of the Arab lands seized in 1967. The intention of the United States to revive the Camp David formula of "autonomy" for the Palestinians and introduce schism into the Arab ranks is evident.

The trend that has been noted toward a consolidation of Arab efforts to solve the most acute problems of the region doubtless has positive significance, the more so under conditions where the idea of convening an international conference, which has received the broadest support around the world, is gradually being brought into the practical plane. In a letter to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs E.A. Shevardnadze especially noted the urgency of a businesslike search for ways of breaking down the Near East situation. It is being proposed that the UN Security Council be immediately involved in the practical implementation of the task of preparing and launching a mechanism for an international conference on the Near East.

A difficult path leads to a settlement of the conflicts in the Near East, but it must be trodden. In the modern world, where the question of the preservation of civilization is so acute, where regional conflicts can explode relative stability on a global level and take on nuclear outlines, alternatives to a political solution of crises and conflicts do not exist.

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**USSR Foreign Trade with Asia, Africa, Oceania**  
*Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian*  
No 4, Apr 88 p 49

[Unattributed article under the rubric "Our Statistical Bureau": "The Foreign Trade of the USSR with the Countries of Asia, Africa and Oceania"]

[Text] In the first table of the latest issue of the NSB [Our Statistical Bureau], the reader can familiarize himself

with the foreign-trade balance of the USSR for 1985 and 1986, the dynamics of export-import operations in the 1970's and 1980's and the role of individual states in the foreign-trade ties of the regions of Asia, Africa and Oceania with our country. Analysis of the statistical data presented makes it possible to draw a series of important conclusions.

It is obvious that the Asia-Africa-Oceania region plays a material but not defining role in the foreign-trade ties of the USSR: its share of Soviet exports was 8.9 percent, and imports 11.8 percent, in 1986, and the growth rate of import-export operations was, as a rule, lower than that for Soviet foreign trade overall. And whereas in the 1970's the economic ties of the USSR with the states under consideration were expanding rapidly, in the beginning of the 1980's this growth had slowed sharply, and in recent years there has even been an absolute decline in both our exports and imports (by 14.3 and 17.5 percent respectively).

Trade ties took shape with many of our Asian and African partners in 1980-86—the Yemen Arab Republic, Lebanon, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Malaysia, the Philippines, Morocco and Sudan among others. Among the countries falling out of the circle of countries having trade relations with the USSR were Jordan, Kuwait, Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Tanzania. We do not trade with a whole series of countries in Asia, Arabia and eastern Asia (not counting the re-export of Soviet goods by third countries). In addition, the Soviet Union has extremely unbalanced trade with the majority of the states in the region.

We retain a considerable and lasting deficit in trading with the developed capitalist countries—Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the states of Southeast Asia, northern, central and western Africa and, on the contrary, have a major positive net balance in trade with the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan, the countries of Indochina and eastern and southern Africa. This imbalance is impeding the stable and dynamic development of USSR foreign trade in the region. Finally, as it is not difficult to verify from the table data, Soviet foreign trade is concentrated here in a small group of countries: some 46 percent of our exports to the region go to Afghanistan, Vietnam and India, while 50 percent of our imports come from India, Japan, Australia and Libya.

Very interesting information is contained in the second table, which covers the composition of the foreign trade of the Soviet Union with the countries of Asia, Africa and Oceania. First we will elucidate that the Unified Trade Nomenclature (UTN) (see listing), which differs fundamentally from the UN Standard International Trade Classification (see the 4th edition of NSB.—AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1988, No 2), is used in the USSR and the other CEMA countries. Whereas the principal criterion of the latter is the degree of machining of the goods, the UTN is based on a different trait—the

ultimate purpose of the classified goods or groups of goods. With this approach, section 2 unites crude oil and pipe, section 3 fertilizer and rubber, and section 5 timber and paper. In order to describe the goods structure of USSR foreign trade, we have delineated sections 1 and 2 under a separate rubric, united sections 7 and 8 under the rubric "Foodstuffs" and included all of the remaining UTN sections in "Industrial Goods and Semi-Manufactures."

#### *Sections of the Unified Trade Nomenclature of CEMA*

1. Machinery, equipment and transport 2. Fuels, raw minerals, metals 3. Chemical products, fertilizers, rubber 4. Building materials and parts 5. Raw materials (except foods) and refining products 6. Live animals (not for slaughter) 7. Raw materials for the production of foodstuffs 8. Foodstuffs 9. Industrial consumer goods

Analysis of the goods structure of Soviet imports and exports visibly demonstrates that the developing countries of the region are major consumers of the products of Soviet machine building. The share of machinery, equipment and transport is especially high in USSR deliveries to Iraq, the PDRY, Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Laos, Libya, Guinea, Nigeria, Angola and Ethiopia. We moreover sell both finished products (motor vehicles, aircraft) and constituent equipment for industrial facilities (the construction of electric-power plants in the PDRY and Bangladesh and metallurgical combines in Algeria and Nigeria). At the same time, no less than 40 percent of the imports of a number of developing countries (Turkey, India, Morocco, Sudan, Madagascar and Ethiopia) and Australia goes for deliveries of Soviet petroleum and petroleum products.

The region for its part is a supplier to the USSR of most important types of raw materials and foodstuffs: rubber, jute, tea, coffee, cocoa beans, etc. We are actively acquiring industrial consumer goods here; for example, clothing from Pakistan and Vietnam, perfumes from Syria, etc., but procurements of machinery, equipment and transport are made just from Japan, India and Turkey.

It can be asserted overall that the foreign-trade ties of the USSR with the countries of Asia, Africa and Oceania, with the exception of ten states, are limited primarily to the agrarian and raw-materials sphere. This pattern deprives us of many advantages from participation in the international division of labor, since those who principally both buy and sell complex products, and first and foremost machine-building products, are the ones that obtain the maximum benefits in the contemporary world. The expanding restructuring of the foreign economic ties of the USSR is currently also aimed at correcting this situation.

Two publications served as sources for the statistical information in preparing this edition: "USSR Foreign Trade. 1922-81" (Moscow, 1982) and "USSR Foreign Trade in 1986" (Moscow, 1987).

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SEGODNYA No 5, May 88**

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**U.S.-Soviet Cooperation in Southern Africa**

Moscow *AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA* in Russian No 5, May 88 pp 2-5

[Article by V. Kokorev: "One Cannot Sympathize Lightly"]

[Excerpts] Today, under conditions of the globalization of political thought, when we are more and more distinctly aware of the commonality of the fate of all countries and peoples and the primacy of humanitarian principles over all others, the tragedy of Africa acquires a sense of a truly philosophical warning. The continent which served as the cradle of humanity is at the brink of catastrophe. The dangers that threaten it are diverse. But the most insidious of these after hunger is, perhaps, political instability. It would be incorrect to put it in direct proportional dependence to growth in poverty. The social upheavals are not engendered by poverty as such, but by injustices in the distribution of the scant resources at the disposal of that society.

In Africa, nation building is accompanied by particular sorts of difficulties, since tribalism, separatism and all sorts of archaic social, political and ideological ideas are quite vital there. The correlation of traditions and modern times is a very intimate topic for the Africans. It exists seemingly at once on several hypostases—the state official pursuing government policy, the member or leader of one's own tribe, the good Christian or Muslim

during mass or prayers, the zealous champion of the traditional cult of the ancestors, a patriot of the country and a defender of the "ancient privileges" of one's own ethnic group.

The hopes of those political figures and researchers who felt that it was possible to extract African society from the state of backwardness over the lifetime of one or two generations have not been justified. Its grip has proven to be more powerful than was supposed at the dawn of independent Africa. The outward attributes of political power here correspond to "imported" models, but society continues to live right alongside according to its own internal laws, upon which the complex and contradictory process of transforming the nationalism of the fighters for freedom into state nationalism is proving to exert a most strong influence.

The difficult socio-economic state of the African countries and the worsening economic and demographic situation against a background of outdated feuds between individual peoples and states inherited from colonial times certainly do not facilitate political stability. The number of military coups is growing, reflecting more and more often a blind thirst for power rather than the aspiration of this or that circle to achieve radical social changes, while border conflicts burst out, in the course of which the parties frequently seemingly vent their anger at their own internal disorders. The discussion at the OAU of the issue of the fate of the western Sahara has become a difficult test for African unity, while the wounds of the civil war in Chad bleed and the seat of religious and ethnic discord in the southern Sudan smolders more and more.

According to the estimates of professor S. Ashanti, a staff member of the UN Institute for Namibia, out of the more than 30 conflicts that have taken place in Africa since the middle of the 1970s, only eight were settled in the course of negotiations between the parties, and the rest were either resolved by military means, in many cases with foreign intervention, or are "on ice." Experience shows that the efforts of the OAU to resolve disputed issues in inter-African relations by political means achieve their aim, as a rule, only when events can be brought under control before their transition to the phase of an armed clash.

It sometimes seems that the most effective method of supporting the efforts of the OAU aimed at keeping military conflicts from occurring on the continent would be a complete embargo on weapons sales to Africa. The problem is all the more topical as the African countries annually spend over 11 billion dollars on military needs from their already scant resources—twice as much as for education and six times more than for health care.

At the same time, it is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that free Africa must strengthen its defensive capability in the face of the threat emanating from racist

South Africa. The creation in the future of a free democratic South Africa would probably give impetus to the development of the whole continent and would facilitate to a certain extent its emergence from its poverty-stricken state: after all, over 40 percent of its industrial potential, created not only by the labor of black and white South Africans, but also by guest workers from neighboring countries, is concentrated here. The assertions of some propagandists in the West and in South Africa itself that the Africans, motivated by a feeling of "black racism," will destroy that potential, and that the whites will be killed or driven off, are absolutely implausible although not inoffensive. Nothing except a hysterical mental state can bring on such conjectures.

No one needs the conflict in southern Africa. The necessity of its political settlement was mentioned during the meeting in November 1987 of M.S. Gorbachev with the president of Zambia, K. Kaunda, who holds the post of OAU chairman today. Signs are appearing that even the white South Africans are beginning to comprehend this, and not only the student youth participating in the demonstrations in support of the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front, but also individuals with real influence on the government. The meeting that took place in July of 1987 in Dakar between a group of representatives of the African intelligentsia and the leaders of the ANC says much, although official circles in South Africa hastened to dissociate themselves from this initiative. The summary document of the meeting deemed the apartheid regime responsible for the growth of violence in the country and emphasized the necessity of solving the problems of South Africa via negotiations between the government and the freedom fighters.

Why doesn't the wave of white terror in South Africa abate, why aren't the shots of the undeclared war of Pretoria against the front-line states stilled, why is the granting of independence to Namibia being delayed? What is it—the obtuse obstinacy of the crude soldiers who will one day bring the conceived operation to an end without noticing that they are perhaps letting slip the last chance for a peaceful settlement, or the subtle cunning of the political types who are hoping more and more to win additional concessions from the other side with the aid of force? This cunning can turn on the connivers themselves.

It is understandable that in Pretoria, they want to transform the neighboring states, and first and foremost the most radical of them—Angola and Mozambique—into zones of permanent instability and to shift the fires of war there from South Africa and Namibia, giving it the look of "ethnic" or "civil" conflicts, sitting out the regional fire behind a smoke screen. But won't the cost of this policy be excessive even for such a rich country—by African standards—as South Africa?

It is not difficult to upset the shaky internal equilibrium in this or that African state. In Mozambique, it was enough to reduce sharply the hiring of workers for the

South African mining industry. The yeast of terrorism thrown into the bullion of social unrest has evoked a tempestuous reaction of ferment. The specific features of the development of the Ovimbundu people that have been taking shape for more than a century were utilized in Angola for the same purpose, while the inflammatory political adventurer J. Savimbi was thrown in there instead of yeast.

It is far from easy to restore the equilibrium, at least because not only is good will needed for this, but a systematic, considered and careful social policy reckoned for the long-term historical future as well. Among the tens of thousands of bandits that are roaming the bush in Angola and Mozambique, there are few who know anything of UNITA or the MNS, not to mention share their political platforms. Robbery on the roads, of course, with a great desire to call them "partisan raids," has become the stock in trade for the majority of them.

Social disorganization is the terrible disease that the racist strategy is communicating to the neighboring countries. Will they be able to control it themselves? They can amuse themselves with the idea that, giving arms to terrorists, they can keep them under control. But what of the lack of political principle, the cynicism, the complete absence of any moral checks on the black foster children of apartheid? After all it is namely they, and not the freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia, that are motivated by racist prejudices in relation to the whites. Yes, the racism of the whites rears its antipode—the racism of blacks—and the wave of social chaos that is dispatched from Pretoria to free Africa could at any moment turn around and swamp the apartheid state itself.

The goal of the South African racists is to link the survival of their regime with the policies of the West, speculating on the anti-communist sentiments of certain of its circles and trying to slip through into the 21st century thanks to the contradictions that are preserved between the two world social systems, ascribing to a concept that recognizes the diversity of the world as the foundation of stable international relations. At the same time, neither the United States, nor the more so the USSR, which has come out consistently in favor of the elimination of racism and colonialism in southern Africa and rendered assistance to freedom fighters, have a vested interest in the preservation of such a "sign of diversity" as apartheid. It is not only an attempt to protect the criminal regime, but also an inability to curtail the evil it is creating, that inflicts harm to the international reputation of the powers that are the permanent members of the UN Security Council and, by virtue of that, bear particular responsibility for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity on the planet.

Is Soviet-American collaboration in the cause of aiding Africa possible in principle? There can be only one answer: it is essential. It is namely joint work with a

noble aim that would be an effective means of reinforcing trust between the USSR and the United States. Sharp edges, however, cannot be skirted in posing this question. It is difficult to imagine how one hand can assist the bandits sowing death and destruction on the land of free Africa while the other helps the victims of their brigandage. It is just as hard to understand how the leaders of the country can be friends with a man who openly threatens the life and property of its citizens. That is the plot we are observing in the mutual relations of the American government with Savimbi, who has threatened more than once to massacre Americans working in Angola.

But something must be done. It is impossible to wander in the corners of the confrontational maze to infinity. Many eminent political figures are warning of the scope of the danger that lies concealed in the backwardness of the developing world. M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the participants in the International Conference on the Interconnection of Disarmament and Development contains these words: "It is time for all to realize that by leaving the peoples of other regions, and even continents, in an exploited and hapless state, either willingly or unwillingly, mankind is risking causing an explosion no less destructive than a thermonuclear clash."

The 1987 Washington Treaty envisages the elimination of two classes of Soviet and American missiles with nuclear warheads. It would of course be naive to suppose that this first step will lead automatically to increased aid for development, at least because the technology of destroying weapons, albeit at first, can prove to be no less expensive than their production. Something else is of fundamental significance—a chance has appeared to break the logic of confrontation and enter the path of constructive interaction of all countries and peoples in the interests of development.

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I have had occasion more than once to encounter women in buttoned-up black dresses on the streets of African cities. Women in Africa unfortunately frequently have to dress in mourning for relatives and dear ones—husbands, brothers and, most terribly, children. But when you see a woman who has just buried her child but is already carrying a new life within her, you fall to thinking of much.

The hopeless need, the despair of hunger, the ravages of disease, it would seem, should be borne by Africans in complete apathy, an indifference toward life is engendered in them. And they continue with it. This means that they do not lose hope in the fact that they can live better someday.

But woe to him who counts on remaining just a spectator in this human drama playing itself out in Africa—a drama alien to them. The lines of the poet Vladimir



Vysotskiy come to mind of those who, sitting at a comfortable distance, observe people who are perishing in the waves of a stormy sea:

*They sympathize easily with the dead—but from afar. But in the murky ocean deep, in the depths of the secret whales An incredible wave is born and rises up, It will rush to the shore and swallow up the watchers.*

The next and last question arises: who will sympathize someday with the sympathizers?

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### Communist Movement in Africa

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian  
No 5, May 88 pp 6-10

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences N. Kosukhin and Candidate of Historical Sciences I. Belikov: "The Communist Movement in Africa: Some Questions of Strategy and Tactics"; Conclusion. For the beginning see AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 4, 1988]

[Text] The African proletariat has played a large role in the national-liberation movement and shown its battle-worthiness and dynamism during the period of independent national development. At the same time, under contemporary conditions it has not yet been able to take the lead in the anti-imperialist and democratic movement. As was noted, for example, by the general secretary of the Sudanese Communist party (SCP) Central Committee, M. Nugud, during the mass demonstrations in April of 1985 that led to the fall of the Nimiery regime, "the working class has not only not demonstrated initiative itself in the organization of the political uprising, but was even late to be included in it." In analyzing the reasons hindering the proletariat of the African countries from realizing their vanguard role in the contemporary stage, the communists point out the incomplete nature of the process of its formation as a class, its insufficient relative weight in the overall number of the able-bodied population, the presence of a variety of transitional groups, the scattered nature of a considerable portion of it among small and cottage enterprises, poor political organization, isolation from the masses and integration into the bureaucratic apparatus of the ruling regimes of part of the trade-union leadership, the influence on the workers of petty-bourgeois ideology, social-reformist illusions, religion and patriarchal remnants. Under these conditions, in the opinion of the communists, the day-to-day purposeful work of the party among the proletarian masses and the concentration of attention on raising the political awareness of the workers has especial significance.

Objectively, the most numerous ally of the working class is the peasantry, making up the majority of the able-bodied population of the African countries. Notwithstanding the process of differentiation that is developing within it, expressed in particular in the countries of northern Africa, the peasantry as a class has a vested interest in the implementation of radical agrarian reforms, the elimination of traditional, semi-feudal methods of exploitation and the removal of the fetters of large usury capital and rigid bureaucratic control on the part of the local authorities. Compared to other classes and segments, however, the communists assert, the peasantry of Africa does not lend itself well to contemporary forms of organization and mobilization to conscious political action. The rural masses live under conditions of extreme poverty, illiteracy, cultural and spiritual backwardness, an almost complete lack of access to modern mass media and are under the powerful influence of patriarchal mores, religion and the authority of the traditional tribal elders. Without a union with the working class and other segments of the population, the communists stress, the peasantry cannot make an effective contribution to the cause of solving the problems of national-democratic revolution. Serving as a mass base for such a union, the peasantry is nonetheless not its leading political force.

The organizational and ideo-political weakness of the principal working classes has led to the fact that in practice representatives of the intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie have come to be at the head of the anti-imperialist struggle. They are broadly represented in the majority of the democratic parties and organizations and occupy deciding positions in them. The basis of party personnel in a number of communist parties of the continent is comprised of representatives of the intelligentsia and middle-class segments. The rapid numerical growth of these social groups in the African countries and their high level of education and access to information conditions their important role in political life. The ability to be aware of the actual state of affairs in the country and to interpret it in a broad historical context incites a considerable portion of its representatives to seek out radical means of solving the problems of backwardness and dependence. As the participants in the first conference of communist parties of Sub-Saharan and southern Africa emphasized, "more and more people, especially among the revolutionary intelligentsia, are accepting many of the basic tenets of the revolutionary theory of Marxism."

A recognition and regard for this circumstance is manifested in the increased activity of some of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the African countries in the 1980s (although not to an equal extent) and the development and implementation of measures to strengthen their influence on the intelligentsia and the middle-class segments. This line is especially appreciable in the activity of the Independence and Labor Party of Senegal (ILPS), which devoted particular attention to this issue at its first congress (1984), overcoming the incorrect evaluations that had existed earlier.

It is planned to attract the national bourgeoisie into the national-democratic front in the process of forming it. The realities of such prospects are substantiated by the communists, first of all, by its heterogeneity and the existence of different factions and segments within it, and second, by the contradictions that remain between a significant portion of the national bourgeoisie and foreign monopoly capital. Being deprived of access to the most profitable economic spheres, which have been seized by foreign capital, and running up against the limited nature of business activeness due to the presence of pre-capitalist forms of exploitation in the village and the preservation of the powerful positions of money-trading capital, the entrepreneurial circles of the local bourgeoisie have been forced to seek aid from the state. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie that controls the state apparatus, however, is closely linked with imperialism and parasitic non-productive capital and is thus unable to satisfy the basic interests of the class of national entrepreneurs. Thus, notwithstanding the instability of the political course of the national bourgeoisie and the tacking line it is pursuing among various socio-economic forces, a fear of the activeness of the broad masses and an inclination toward concessions and compromise with imperialism, the patriotically inclined segments of it can enter into a union with the advocates of a consistent anti-imperialist orientation.

Even taking into account the palpable differences in the level of consolidation of the national bourgeoisie as a class and its economic and political influence in the countries of northern and Saharan Africa, the aforementioned conclusion is shared by the communist parties of all regions of the continent. "The national bourgeoisie, whose interests do not contradict economic independence," state the documents of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS), "also has a vested interest in the program of national democracy, which opens up entrepreneurial opportunities and the receipt of a broad national market for them." In the opinion of Senegalese Marxists, the national bourgeoisie and its patriotic segments can become part of a broad democratic front, since "economic interests put it in opposition to the ruling circles."

The composition and bounds of the national-democratic coalition (front) in the African countries are thus exceedingly mobile. This union, the communists feel, includes not only forces with a vested interest in the complete implementation of a program of anti-imperialist, anti-neocolonial and anti-exploitative transformations, but also those who do not have a vested interest in it all the way to the end and could potentially prove to be among the ranks of the adversaries in the future.

The advancement of the task of creating a national-democratic front as a strategic goal put before the communists the question of which social force will lead it. The answer to this question was the result of an analysis of the revolutionary process in Africa in the 1960's and 1970's.

In the course of the anti-colonial and national-liberation struggle of the peoples of the continent, as is well known, representatives of non-proletarian segments advanced into the role of political leader. The anti-imperialistic and patriotically inclined portion of these segments comprised the core of the national (revolutionary) democracy, which at the beginning of the 1960's came to power in a number of African countries and proclaimed a policy of eliminating the exploitation of man by man and the building of a society of social justice and equality. Over a comparatively short period, however, inconsistency and profound contradictions became evident in the development of this group of countries which later degenerated into crises. The overthrow of the regime of K. Nkruma in Ghana (1966), M. Keyta in Mali (1968), the death of G.A. Nasser (1970) along with the onslaught of "Sadatism" in Egypt, the growth in negative processes in Guinea and the difficulties and stagnant phenomena in Tanzania—all of this sharply posed the question of the prospects for this type of development by the middle of the 1970's.

A result of this was a deepening of theoretical work in the African communist movement to interpret the experience of the first radical regimes and the causes of their difficulties and failures and to develop further the problems of the revolutionary process on the continent. One notable milestone on this path was the appearance of an article in 1974 by a member of the leadership of the South African Communist Party (SACP), J. Slovo (today the general secretary of the SACP), called "A Critical Evaluation of the Non-Capitalist Path and the National-Democratic State in Africa," which provoked animated discussion and commentary. In the article, the author called into question the ability of petty-bourgeois and non-proletarian forces to ensure the successful development of the liberated countries in the direction of socialist orientation. The possibility of the consistent implementation of anti-imperialist and anti-exploitative transformations and progress toward the socialist ideal, concluded J. Slovo, becomes real only when the leadership of this process is accomplished by the working masses—the workers and peasants—who are the chief bulwark of the new power.<sup>1</sup>

The discussion of the limits of revolution by non-proletarian and middle-class segments and their ability to realize anti-exploitative principles in practice did not end there, of course. As for the program documents of the communist parties of Africa, they fixed the theory that a condition of the successful accomplishment of national-democratic revolution is the leading role of the working class in union with other workers.

"The revolutionary union of workers and peasants," stress the Egyptian communists in their program, "is the foundation of any strategic or tactical union and the cornerstone of any alliance of forces with a vested interest in completing the mission of national-democratic revolution... The working class should occupy a

guiding position in front of the democratic forces." Analogous or very close provisions are contained in the documents of the other communist parties of the continent.

However, under conditions where, on the one hand, the working class of the African countries is still quite far from becoming a true political leader in solving the problems of development and, on the other, the amount of problems in the solution of which the broadest national forces have a vested interest, is growing and the need to develop the issues associated with the possibility of the participation of the communist party in unions in which there are no conditions for the leading role of the proletariat is being acutely felt. Thus, with a regard for namely these circumstances, the materials of the 1st ILPS Congress indicate that no one can be given undoubted priority in the question of leading the national-democratic front. "The leader of the struggle becomes that class," it was emphasized at the congress, "that proves best prepared for it, possessing the corresponding political awareness and organization... At the same time, the party is convinced that only the leadership of the working class in the front along with other groups of workers can guarantee the ultimate success of the struggle."

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As for the nature of the power that is being established as a result of the victory of national-democratic revolution, two points of view have taken shape in a number of communist movements of Africa. According to the first, shared by the majority of the communist parties, it will be power by a bloc of various classes and segments with a non-identical vested interest in the subsequent implementation of the program of revolutionary transformations. The working class, in union with other workers, has asserted its leading role within the framework of this bloc or is fighting to do so. According to the second point of view, which is expressed, for example, in the program of the Communist Party of Lesotho, it will be a revolutionary-democratic power of the workers and peasants pursuing an "independent course of development in the direction of socialism."

At the same time, the programs for implementing the social transformations that are proposed to be accomplished at the stage of national-democratic revolution in the documents of various communist parties of the continent coincide in their principal outline and include the following measures.

**In the political realm**—establishing a regime of political democracy, holding free elections, forming new and genuinely representative institutions; ensuring conditions for the implementation of basic civil liberties, such as the freedom of thought, creed, speech, press, assembly and the creation of political parties; abolishing all direct

and indirect limitations on the right to implement political and trade-union activity and reorganizing the judicial system, the security service and the police; subordinating the state apparatus to popular control and cleansing it of hostile elements, bureaucratism and corruption; organizing a democratic system of elections to the organs of local administration and ensuring their effective activity.

**In the economic realm**—elimination of the dependence of the national economy on the world capitalist economy and a ban on the activity of the multinational corporations; expansion of collaboration with the socialist countries; reliance on domestic sources of development; reinforcement of the state sector as the central link in the national economy, assurance of the opportunity for the national bourgeoisie to act in assigned directions within the framework of a plan and under the guidance of the state sector; assistance for the development of small enterprise in the spheres of trade, services etc.

**In the realm of agrarian relations**—elimination of the remnants of feudal and semi-feudal orders in the village, determination of the maximum dimensions of cultivation, free distribution of land among the landless and small-landowning peasants; creation of cooperatives and collective farms on a democratic and exclusively voluntary basis, aid on the part of the state sector; creation of model state farms; creation of modern living and working conditions in the village.

**In the social realm**—raising the standard of living of the workers, establishing the monitoring of trade unions over the social-security system; reducing the duration of the workday (to seven or eight hours) and improving working conditions; banning the use of child labor; implementing the principle of equal pay for equal work; solving the housing and transport problems; creating a system of permanent increases in skills and education; expanding the participation of workers in production management and introducing workers' control of the activity of enterprises.

The fulfillment of this program, the communists point out, would create the political, material, social and cultural preconditions for a transition to the stage of socialist construction proper.

The aforementioned tasks, in our opinion, are in need of commentary. It seems that the increasing tendency under contemporary conditions toward global economic integration and the emergence of a unified system of world economic ties is introducing material corrections into the former conceptions of "economic independence," a "break with foreign capital" and some other concepts. The necessity of eliminating extremely dangerous and destructive consequences conditioned by today's subordinate position of the liberated countries in the capitalist economic system along with the establishment of all-round economic security is evident. In the

future it will hardly be possible to consider the new international economic system as a negation of interdependence and the creation of some "parallel" world economic system.

Analysis of this program reveals a palpable thrust toward combining national-democratic and socialist transformations and an overestimation of the capabilities of society, which are objectively extremely limited. This is manifested in the advancement by some communist parties of such tasks as the elimination of exploitation, the establishment of justice and equality, the solution of the problem of unemployment, free housing and the like as tasks of the national-democratic stage. Probably, a desire to sustain the "enthusiasm of the masses" and apprehensions regarding their "revolutionary spirit" if the resolution of the tasks being advanced by this or that communist party seems too remote explains the assertions that are encountered in some instances that the ultimate goal is very near. In describing the goal of the PPS—the establishment of a "socialist order that will guarantee social justice and the rights of the citizenry and will grant work to all"—party General Secretary A. Yata declared in an interview that "There exists every possibility for this in Morocco. As for us, all that remains is to gather a little patience and act rationally so as to achieve the creation of this society."

A search for ways of involving the broad masses in national-democratic revolution and the development of an intermediate strategy for democratic transformations on the basis of the existing structure was a distinctive feature of the activity of some of the communist parties of the African countries in the 1980's. The necessity of such work is dictated by the fact that the prolonged sway of authoritarian regimes in a number of countries and the policies of repression and rigid controls over any displays of public activeness they pursued has seriously weakened progressive forces and organizations and their ties to the masses, estranged the opposition and led to a decline in the level of social expectations in society. Under these conditions, broad segments of the population are still not ready to join together and take part in the struggle under the banner of national-democratic revolution.

Taking this circumstance into account, the communists are advancing as a near-term goal a program of democratic changes that could also be realized within the framework of a bourgeois-democratic structure. The key task of the party at this stage, emphasized Sudanese Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary M. Nugud, is the struggle for "the broadest possible unity in the name of the defense and complete restoration of democracy and national sovereignty." In the general elections that were held in April of 1986, the SCP platform—"The way to save the motherland and develop democracy"—also included such demands as the creation of a secular democratic republic, the restoration of the supremacy of legislative power (parliament) over executive power; the abolition of anti-democratic

laws and limitations on elections rights; a guarantee of basic political liberties and rights; the independence of the judicial system from the state administration; the allocation of real power to the local electoral organs and the expansion of their authority; and, the adoption of urgent measures to extract the country from economic crisis.

The necessity of developing and realizing an intermediate strategy of democratic transformations on the basis of the existing order and intended for a prolonged period has other, more profound grounds than simply the lack of a political situation favorable to the mobilization of the masses to support the efforts of the revolutionary vanguard aimed at taking state power.

"In order to speak of genuine revolutionary transformation, even gradual," notes Tunisian Communist Party (TCP) General Secretary M. Harmel, "changes touching on all aspects of life are essential." The masses must acquire much experience and the readiness and ability not only to overthrow the old regime, but also to participate actively in the business of administration and the realization of its initiatives. The coming to power of a small revolutionary vanguard that has far outstripped the principal body of the population in its goals is rife with tragic collisions. The leader of the Tunisian communists directs especial attention to this circumstance: "We feel that the revolution should be a genuinely popular one, that is, engendered by the needs of the people and completed with the participation of the masses... In certain situations a progressive minority can take power, but the value of such a conquest seems problematical."

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In implementing the theoretical activity and mobilizing and organizing the masses for the struggle for radical revolutionary transformations, the communists of the African countries are naturally not standing aside from the interpretation of the diverse experience of progressive initiatives in the socialist-oriented countries. The communist parties of Africa consider revolutionary democrats to be their allies in the fight against imperialism and neocolonialism and in favor of peace and social progress. The problems that progressive regimes are encountering today thus occupy an important place in the theoretical research of the communist parties on questions of the revolutionary process on the continent.

Pointing out the extremely negative consequences of the policy of destabilization, aggression and sabotage being pursued by imperialism against the socialist-oriented countries, the Moroccan communists note that it would be incorrect to explain the very serious difficulties these countries are experiencing by this alone. As was pointed out in the documents of the 4th PPS Congress (1987), "their current difficulties and problems are associated to

no small extent with the following factors: an underestimation of the significance of the stage of national-democratic revolution, its duration, the complexity of the tasks faced in that phase and the corresponding policies of the class unions; the weakness of attempts at the creative application of past experience in economic development to specific conditions, the repetition of methods and solutions used earlier, the failure of such a solution to the agrarian question that would simultaneously ensure both changes in social relations and the development of productive forces along with growth in labor productivity."

The nature of the social transformation at the stage of socialist orientation, the economic and financial opportunities of the new power, the prospects for foreign aid, the scope and rate of nationalization—all of these and other questions are acquiring especial topicality today. One reflection of this was the strengthening of theoretical developments in some of the communist parties of the African countries in the 1980's associated with the role of private enterprise within the framework of non-capitalist development and, more broadly, other variants of the transitional stage. "We" often reduce all of this to the reasoning 'Capitalism is evil, socialism is good,'" wrote V.I. Lenin. "But this reasoning is incorrect, since it forgets the whole aggregate of available socio-economic institutions while pulling out just two of them. Capitalism is evil compared to socialism. Capitalism is good compared to the Middle Ages, in relation to small-scale production, in relation to the bureaucratism associated with the scattered nature of small producers."<sup>2</sup>

Emphasizing the particular importance of this Leninist thought, ILPS Central Committee General Secretary A. Dansoko cites as a positive example in one of his articles the economic policies of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia aimed at utilizing private-enterprise activity within the framework of a national plan, raising attention to "capitalist and petty-trade production." He also directs attention toward the experience of Zimbabwe and the aspiration of the leadership of that country to implement progressive transformations gradually, avoiding the adoption of hasty measures that are rife with severe economic consequences. The steps being undertaken in that country, Dansoko concludes, show "by what paths the question of the fate of local socialism can and should be resolved in practice in progressive states. Allowing its activity, as we see, is possible and essential to a greater or lesser extent."

In reflecting on the nature of socio-economic structures that could be established in South Africa in the event of the victory of the national-democratic revolution, SACP General Secretary J. Slovo feels that the revolutionary powers will face an extremely difficult group of economic issues which will require the achievement of a skillful balance among various imperatives. "Among these imperatives are the necessity of changing industrial relations while preserving the satisfaction of the everyday needs of the people and ensuring that the economy

does not fall into chaos." The revolutionary transformations, especially in the business sector, in his opinion, will take a long time and will be distinguished by a great originality in the socio-economic situation. "I think that in the period following liberation, a mixed economy will exist in which the black middle class and the black petty bourgeoisie will find their place in the sense that they will play a very important role as participants in the liberation struggle in assisting in the creation of the economy and ensuring the satisfaction of the needs of the people."<sup>3</sup> J. Slovo also noted the necessity of a more attentive study of the experience of Zimbabwe in this regard.

An analysis of the experience of the socialist-oriented states and their achievements and difficulties thus has enormous significance for the further development of the theory of revolutionary transformations by the communist parties.

The communists of Africa are striving to reinforce and expand collaboration with the socialist-oriented states and their ruling parties and to support each other in the fight for the interests of the nation and all workers. The African communists, in their theoretical descriptions of socialist orientation, stress the commonality of the features of this group of countries and do not focus attention on the processes of differentiation in their midst, considering the parties ruling in those countries as essentially revolutionary-democratic. The point of view that exists in the SACP is perhaps a definite exception. "Some of the ruling parties in Africa," notes the theoretical organ of the SACP, the journal AFRICAN COMMUNIST, "should now be classified not as revolutionary-democratic, but as Marxist-Leninist. Changes in their composition, organizational structure and dedication to a Marxist-Leninist world view contrast sharply with the positions held by revolutionary democrats."<sup>4</sup>

Linking the demonstrations of the working class and all workers with the fight for peace is another important direction of the theoretical and practical activity of the African communists in the 1980's. As the communists emphasize, this postulation of the question not only does not diverge from local reality, but on the contrary reflects the real needs of the masses. Success in this struggle would signify a reduction in spending for military purposes, which has reached stupendous proportions in the African countries, along with the elimination of foreign military bases on African soil and a reduction in the opportunities for imperialist intervention in the affairs of sovereign countries.

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The concept of national-democratic revolution occupies an important place in the ideo-political platform of the communist movement in Africa, and the fight for its

realization comprises the essence of the activity of communists. This concept fundamentally took shape in the 1960's, and its main principles are preserved in the program documents of the communist parties of the continent.

A considerable activation of theoretical developments has been noted in the communist movement in Africa since the middle of the 1980's along with an intensified search for new approaches to such problems as ways of involving the masses in national-democratic power, the revolutionary potential of various classes and segments, their role at the current stage of the struggle and the economic program of progressive transformations.

The process of theoretical renewal is linked with great difficulties and surmounting the effects of opposing factors. The extreme acuity of socio-economic contradictions and the needs and misfortunes of the workers along with the lack of political and cultural development make them less susceptible to realistic but long-term programs and raise the attractiveness of "radical" slogans in their eyes that call for the "immediate" solution of urgent problems and facilitate a growth in the popularity of parties that work with simplified but emotionally resonant slogans and plans that appeal to the psychological mindset of the broad masses. Imperialism's support of reactionary forces, the weakness of democratic traditions and the preservation of the crudest and cruelest methods of exploitation—these and other factors facilitate the strength of dichotomous evaluations and an orientation toward "irreconcilability" and a "steadiness of principles." The turn to a strategy of fighting for democracy within the framework of the existing order assumes the surmounting of powerful competition on the part of a multitude of parties of a liberal or reformist bent.

Despite the difficulties, however, the search for solutions and answers suited to the new realities and conditions of the struggle, both domestic and international, is growing stronger in the communist parties of Africa. In their speeches at the meeting of representatives of parties and movements in Moscow, Africa Marxists emphasized the necessity of further development of revolutionary theory in the following directions: coup d'etat and revolution; the correlation of reform and revolution in the strategy of national independence; forms of revolutionary actions in the backward countries with multinational population makeup; class struggle and national cohesion in the African states; the role of the state in the economy and society; and, the role of collaboration with socialist countries.

A most important impetus to the creative inquiry of the African communists was given by the process of restructuring in the USSR and the innovative approach of the CPSU to the problems of modern times as manifested in the resolutions of its 27th Congress and the subsequent plenums of the party central committee. "The Tunisian Communist party," stresses TCP General Secretary M. Harmel, "enthusiastically perceives the policy of the

27th CPSU Congress. This attitude is all the more understandable, as our party itself has been striving for many years now toward renewal on both the theoretical and the practical planes. It wants to correspond more fully to objective realities, overcome hardened stereotypes in speeches and positions and genuinely direct its policies toward the problems of the country... The current course of the CPSU inspires us to continue our innovative search."

This process is of course not progressing at the same rate in all parties, and the extent of advance in this or that direction of the development of theory and tactics differs, which is natural. There is no doubt, however, that the creative approach to the new realities and tasks is blazing a trail.

#### Footnotes

1. See: MARXISM TODAY, 1974, No 6, pp 181-82, 186-87.
2. V.I. Lenin: Complete Collected Works, Vol 43, p 229.
3. MARXISM TODAY, 1986, No 12, p 29.
4. THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, 1986, No 105, p 96.

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#### Socialist Orientation in Liberated Countries

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[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Kaufman and Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Ulyanovskiy under the rubric "Problems and Opinions": "The Question of Socialist Orientation in Liberated Countries"]

[Text] In publishing this article, the editors are continuing the academic debate on the problems of the socialist orientation of liberated countries.

Under the procedure for exchanging opinions, we would like to express disagreement with the critical features of a number of scholars in relation to the policy of socialist orientation. This, in our opinion, transpires out of an insufficient understanding of the complexities and contradictions of this transitional form of social progress. There is unfortunately theoretical confusion on this issue, and sometimes actual historical facts are simply denied.

One of the first with criticism of the policy of socialist orientation was N. Simoniya in the article "Specific Features of the Formation of Parties and Their Mutual Contacts with the State Apparatus in the Countries of Non-Capitalist Development" that was written in conjunction with K. Merdel. Enumerating the difficulties of

such development along this path, the authors concluded that as a result "the prospects for the non-capitalist path are removed altogether."<sup>1</sup> N. Simoniya came out with even broader positions on this issue in his book "The Countries of the Orient: Paths of Development,"<sup>2</sup> a number of the groundless theoretical tenets of which were criticized in Moscow academic journals. Here he expresses an opinion on the lack of vitality of the course of socialist orientation.

Ignoring historical realities, N. Simoniya advanced a number of doubtful theories to substantiate his point of view. One of them is that socialist orientation is a variety of political jumping forward within the framework of the third stage of the worldwide process of bourgeois social revolution.<sup>3</sup> Without entering into a discussion with the author on the score of the deeply contradictory positions he advanced, we note just the following. What "jump forward" is being discussed, if socialist orientation arose in the course of the historical development of the liberated countries and on a broad plane is of the nature of a social challenge to capitalism as a formation? It is the result of the unequal development of capitalism itself. In other words, conditioned by internal and external revolutionary factors. It is another matter that such opportunities must be transformed into reality. This is resolved in the course of the maturation of the revolutionary-democratic factor and in the process of the national-liberation struggle. Another theory: the framework of socialist orientation is historically limited, this course has exhausted itself and has no chance for success.<sup>4</sup> This conclusion does not correspond at all to the actual historical facts and says only that the author himself is rushing and jumping ahead. The author also expresses a distrust of the political possibilities of revolutionary democracy, although under favorable conditions in a number of cases it can become a precursor of Marxism-Leninism and lead to scientific socialism. But even without being socialist yet, it does much revolutionary work, and not to see this means to ignore actual processes transpiring in the socialist-oriented countries and their enormous significance for all of the liberated states and for the world revolutionary process.

In desiring to make use of the failures and mistakes in individual socialist-oriented states as an argument to "shore up" their positions, some authors have begun to come out in academic journals with a criticism of the policy of socialist orientation and, in the broad sense of the word, socialist theories in the developing countries.<sup>5</sup> This criticism is also being sounded in debates, for example at the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in October of 1987. What is the essence of it? It is asserted without any grounds whatsoever that the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialist orientation, it seems, does not exist aside from individual, so to speak, fragmentary thoughts and statements on the issue, that this course has not justified itself and has demonstrated its insolvency. The advocates of the course of socialist orientation—and up until recently they included many of today's opponents—are declared to be vulgarizers of Marxism.

Insofar as the academic concept of socialist orientation does not exist in the opinion of a number of authors, we feel it is essential to review, at least briefly, the theory of the issue.

It is well known that K. Marx and F. Engels first formulated their views on this issue in an extensive correspondence with the Russian "men of the sixties" in the 1870's and 1880's. Criticizing their sociological concepts, the founders of Marxism expressed a series of assumptions that have a direct bearing on the possibility of economically backward countries bypassing or reducing the development of the capitalist stage.<sup>6</sup>

Under all conditions, the fundamental ideas of K. Marx and F. Engels gave a large impetus to the further theoretical development of the problems of the transition of economically backward countries to socialism, bypassing capitalism. Naturally, at the end of the 19th century this could only be considered a theoretical possibility. Could such ideas be important components in a study of the question in general? We are sure that they could.

V.I. Lenin, based on the actual practice of the national districts of Russia and Mongolia and the specific experience of the national-liberation struggle, drew a conclusion of great political and practical significance in a number of his works and speeches.<sup>7</sup> The Leninist tenets on problems of non-capitalist development were reflected in the resolution of the 10th Congress of our party "The Next Tasks of the Party on the National Question."<sup>8</sup>

The Comintern also repeatedly addressed the problem of non-capitalist development in its documents and did much in its creative development. In one Comintern resolution adopted in 1930, it is noted that under the conditions of non-capitalist development (this term does not appear in Lenin's works, and the Comintern was the first to use it), capitalism cannot at once be displaced from social relations, and an important conclusion is drawn: "It is necessary to proceed from the fact that socialism is not introduced at once and immediately. The transition to socialism is a prolonged period, in the course of which a series of consistently pursued measures are implemented. The individual steps laying the way for socialism should proceed from the needs of the masses, and the need for them should be realized by a majority of the population. These steps should mature in economic reality and economically they should be completely achievable."<sup>9</sup>

The communist movement and collective Marxist-Leninist thought advanced the idea of the national-democratic state. The specific features of such a state were formulated, and we will not dwell on them specially here. We will only say that the formation and reinforcement of the national-democratic state create the initial possibility for the liberated countries to proceed along the path of social progress and play an active role in the fight of peoples for peace and against the aggressive policies of



imperialism. The idea of such a state justifies itself and successfully serves the practice of the anti-imperialist struggle and socialist orientation.

It can be said that all of the socialist-oriented countries today are in this or that stage of developing a national-democratic state (their diverse specific national and historical features must of course necessarily be taken into account herein). It is thus impossible to agree with the assertion of G. Mirskiy that the idea of a national-democratic state has proven insolvent.<sup>10</sup> Such unfounded conclusions are refuted by historical practice itself. The national-democratic state, if it is understood precisely and correctly, is a broad socio-economic and political phenomenon.

We further note that the critics of the course of socialist orientation for some reason feel it is possible to ignore the program documents of the world communist movement and the CPSU on this issue. By the way, they address the fact that the problems of social development that the dependent states of Asia and Africa are running into today require the execution of socio-economic transformations in all walks of social life, the elimination of the sway of foreign monopolies, the radical democratization of social and political life and the state apparatus, the resurrection of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the reinforcement of revolutionary parties and the creation of such parties where they do not exist.

Has the historical practice of recent years confirmed the correctness of the conclusions contained in these documents? Yes, it has.

The 27th CPSU Congress devoted much attention to questions of the development of the socialist-oriented countries. The CPSU Program notes that broad prospects have been revealed to these countries for social progress. Attention is directed therein to the fact that the revolutionary-democratic parties are pursuing a course in economic and political life that meets the interests of the popular masses and their aspiration for a just social structure, which coincides with the main direction of historical development. The CPSU, as the program says, imparts great significance to solidarity and political and economic collaboration with socialist-oriented countries, having in mind rendering them assistance in economic and cultural construction, the training of national personnel, raising defensive capabilities and other realms. Our party is deepening its relations with the revolutionary-democratic parties of the liberated countries. "Especially close collaboration has taken shape with those of them," the program emphasizes, "that are striving to build their activity on the basis of scientific socialism."<sup>11</sup>

The CPSU and the international communist movement thus feel that the course of socialist orientation is progressive and occupies an important place in the world

revolutionary process. The critics of this course are so distracted by their own statements that they do not notice all of this. One cannot agree with such positions.

An objective analysis of a multitude of materials, including the program documents of the revolutionary-democratic parties and movements in Asia and Africa, as well as already existing practice of the socialist-oriented movement, makes it possible to formulate its basic directions.

1. Socialist orientation is one historical form of the transition of backward countries to socialism. This process is typified by complexity and contradiction. Whence the profound interconnection of all social forms—economic, social, political, ideological and cultural—and, at the same time, the instability of each step achieved. Combined social forms in general are the most complex forms of social relations.

2. The transition from pre- or early-capitalist relations to socialism is not of the nature of a one-time action, but rather takes place gradually through a series of intermediate stages. One means of economic displacement of pre-capitalist and initial-capitalist relations is the creation of state and cooperative forms of economics.

3. The presence of profound pre-capitalist remnants, especially in the African countries, makes it impossible to resolve issues of state power directly, through the establishment of the power of the working class. They are resolved with the aid of creating revolutionary-democratic organizations.

Contemporary revolutionary democracy, placed at the head of the processes of socialist orientation, should be considered in the historical context of the action of two factors. First, its activation is the result of the fact that neither the proletariat nor the national bourgeoisie, by virtue of its ideological, political and organizational weakness, is able to head up the revolutionary processes in their countries. The petty urban bourgeoisie becomes supreme. Second, a reflection of a certain degree of development of the historical process in the liberated countries, when the multitudinous petty-bourgeois segments of the cities and villages—whose views are distinguished by instability—enters active political life, should be seen in the expanded activity of revolutionary democracy. This leads, on the one hand, to an expansion of the social base of the revolution and, on the other, to instability in the revolutionary process.

4. The primarily peasant, petty-bourgeois composition of the population and the profound influence of patriarchal and religious institutions impart specific forms to the political institutions that are of a non-proletarian nature in their class substance. They include representatives of various non-exploiting classes and segments, which creates conditions for differences and clashes. This is one reason for the instability of the domestic political climate in the socialist-oriented states.



5. The gradual creation and reinforcement of a mass revolutionary-democratic party based on principles of scientific socialism and its transformation into a Marxist-Leninist party able to "translate true communist teaching... into the language of each people"<sup>12</sup> is becoming a new historical phenomenon. This is the process of preparing ideo-political personnel that propagate Marxist-Leninist ideas. The formation of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard that ideologically and organizationally unites the leading forces of the country is leading to a deepening of social transformations.

Under the conditions of socialist orientation, the discussion concerns fulfilling a complex task of a dual nature. This is, first of all, the dissemination of socialist ideas and, second, the flexible surmounting of patriarchal traditions. In those socialist-oriented countries where the revolutionary democracy in power recognizes just certain aspects of Marxist-Leninist teaching, and primarily its economic aspects, revolutionary democracy encounters great difficulties in the cause of bringing this teaching to the broad masses of the population.

6. National-democratic revolutions have differing depths and scope in the socialist-oriented countries. Here we encounter one example of when, in the course of the worsening class struggle, the issue of "who gets whom" is resolved in one form or another. In the process of deepening socio-economic and political transformations and by virtue of various reasons, it is possible to move backwards, and national revolution can even be defeated in certain cases. Under all conditions, the socialist prospects for the countries of Asia and Africa are directly linked with the successful resolution of national-democratic revolution—the historically transitional period of socialist orientation. And the deeper it is, the more powerful its political reserves, the more solid the ties with the broad popular masses, the stronger and surer it will be.

7. The comprehensive assistance to the socialist-oriented countries, in other words, the implementation of the role of the international socialist factor, in the aggregate facilitates the protection of these states from imperialist pretensions and plots.

The social practices themselves of the policy of socialist orientation have given rise to their own specific features, being the substance and essence of national-democratic revolution. These features have actually taken shape and are developing in the course of the historical process, thereby affirming the birth of progressive social forms in the liberated countries that cannot be ignored.

What are these basic features?

In the socio-economic realm, they are the elimination or limitation of the positions of foreign capital under a strict monitoring of its activity, which naturally does not signify a rejection of economic relations on an equal

footing with the capitalist countries; the reform of cultivation in favor of the peasantry; the establishment of controls over the activity of private national capital; the creation of a democratic industrial state sector; the creation of various types of cooperation in the cities and villages; and, the pursuit of broad social measures in the interests of the workers.

In the political realm, the removal of the national bourgeoisie and landowners and their organizations from political power; the reinforcement of revolutionary-democratic power; the development of forms of political organization for the broad popular masses, including the trade unions, which are playing a growing role in protecting the economic interests of the workers; the involvement of various forms of mass organizations in resolving questions of economics and politics; the organization of the armed forces to protect the national sovereignty and conquests of the revolution; implementation of a policy of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; and, the establishment of ideological and political ties with the international communist movement and with liberation movements.

The revolutionary-democratic parties in a number of socialist-oriented countries proclaim socialism as their ideology, disseminate socialist ideas among the broad mass of workers, train political and ideological personnel in the spirit of socialist ideas, fight bourgeois ideology and the legacy of colonialism in ideological and cultural life and protect the national community and democratic cultural values.

Naturally, everything in the socialist-oriented countries is not stable and steady. We note that no one society knows direct paths of development, especially in cases where the discussion concerns a society of a transitional type. The method of considering the socialist-oriented society—a society of contradictory social forms—through the prism of chemically pure socio-economic and political conditions therefore seems strange, to say the least: the social process in that case appears to be without the social contradictions and complexities of class struggle. Such a research method, devoid of any dialectics, is mechanical and thus cannot be productive.

It is roughly such an approach, unfortunately, that predominates in the article of V. Sheynis as applied to questions associated with socialist orientation. Ignoring the difficulties and contradictions of this type of progress and essentially seeing nothing positive in it, the author concludes that the policy of socialist orientation has not justified itself and "cannot serve as a particularly contagious example." He moreover even predicts that "the non-capitalist path has not become a convincing alternative and will hardly do so in the foreseeable future."<sup>13</sup> It is, of course, impossible to agree with such a negative evaluation of socialist orientation and with such prophecies.

The process of socialist orientation and the results it has achieved are not as superficial and shaky as the critics are trying to depict them. Practice shows that even in cases of the digression of a number of countries from the course of socialist orientation, on the score of which many authors (A. Kiva, G. Mirskiy et al), as testified to by their articles and statements in debate, are falling into dejection and a gloomy skepticism, the process of restoration itself cannot occur, as they say, all at once. It can be done quickly, albeit not easily, at the highest echelons of power. Difficulties, fairly large ones, arise in the middle and lower echelons on such a path. As for the economy and economic relations, altered to a certain extent and already somewhat rigid, the reverse process runs into considerable obstacles, and first and foremost the dissatisfaction of the masses.

Even in countries that have digressed from the course of socialist orientation, such as Mali and Ghana (and the Africans know this well), a large, so to speak, positive "legacy" has been preserved that the new leadership of the countries has not rejected, but rather preserved and even expanded somewhat. It is moreover typical that this leadership is drawing certain conclusions in a number of cases from the errors and omissions of the previous powers. Even in Egypt, with all of the negative phenomena in the economy, much remains from recent economic successes. Everything here is thus not quite so simple and straightforward as some authors are trying to present it.

The following substantiations are advanced in criticizing the course of socialist orientation: slow economic growth rates, economic stagnation, disproportions in the economy, various failures, the inability of world socialism to render "powerful support" to the young independent states, the attraction of foreign capital, the denationalization of individual enterprises, the return of some positions to petty capital etc. All of these and other pessimistic premises are fired like arrows by G. Mirskiy in trying in whatever manner possible to prove the insolvency and unreality of the course of socialist orientation in his "academic" dialogue with V. Li, whose position seems to us to be better substantiated and considered.<sup>14</sup> Recall that G. Mirskiy has in the past taken quite the opposite position on the question of evaluating the course of socialist orientation. His theoretical and political vacillation has yet to aid the research and elaboration of these complex questions.

Our opinion is as follows. Neither an overestimation nor an underestimation of the possibilities for the development of the liberated states along the non-capitalist path is acceptable. The advocates of such points of view oversimplify the great complexities and contradictions of social development and, in their desire to "straighten out" and accelerate this path, await unjustifiably rapid results.

The failures pointed out by G. Mirskiy are, of course, undesirable. They can and should be understood, however, only with a regard for the action of a series of

completely real factors, and first and foremost the resistance of internal enemies of the policy of socialist orientation, imperialist economic pressure and even military aggression as, for example, in Angola, Mozambique and other countries.

In the article of V. Sheynis and the dialogue of V. Li and G. Mirskiy, the problem of socialist orientation is considered on the plane of the new political thinking, which is even stated in the subtitle. In both cases, however, the indicated series of concrete factors is ignored. In researching the economic problems of the socialist-oriented states, for example, a realistic evaluation of existing difficulties is lacking and such phenomena as the international division of labor, the interconnection and mutual dependence of the world and the limits and conditions of the utilization of foreign capital are not taken into account. Rigid requirements and maximalist approaches predominate and the difficulties and complexities of development are ignored in the arguments of Yu. Aleksandrov, V. Maksimenko, G. Mirskiy and V. Sheynis. All of this is used to discredit socialist orientation. There is little left of the new political thinking as a result. A correct understanding of contemporary revolutionary democracy and its socialist potential is meanwhile essential. We feel that it is thus essential to dwell on this problem, at least briefly.

Revolutionary democracy, which has become the guiding political force in the socialist-oriented states, takes its beginnings from the broad political strain that V.I. Lenin described as petty-bourgeois democracy, peasant democracy. In other words, it has a completely definite source and its own specific social features that are expressed directly or indirectly in the sphere of social behavior and the political vacillations characteristic of it that arise from its social nature. These vacillations are expressed not only in the choice of means of realizing the program of socialist orientation, but in certain cases the discussion also concerns the rejection of such programs altogether. Naturally, in evaluating the socialist potential of contemporary revolutionary democracy, it is essential to take into account its increased possibilities in connection with the specific features of our era: its receptiveness to socialist ideas has increased, and the understanding of the necessity of collaboration with other political forces in the struggle for progressive ideas has grown. It is important to see the true social nature of this ideological strain, in considering which one should reckon first and foremost "with the objective facts, with the masses and with classes, and not with individuals."<sup>15</sup>

Revolutionary-democratic concepts of socialism are naturally not hard and fast theories. Being a social phenomenon indissolubly linked with the conditions of material life and ways of re-arranging it, this concept develops dialectically with all of its inherent contradictions. In a number of revolutionary democracies with a worsening class struggle, political processes are transpiring that are leading consistently toward its delimitation and the more precise separation of the left and right wings along

with an elaboration of the political positions of the unsteady portion of it. Revolutionary-democratic concepts are thus far from homogeneous, carry different socio-political connotations and are distinguished by varying degrees of progressiveness and depth of social substance. It is namely this factor that determines their unequal role in the social progress of the liberated countries.

Despite this, the ideological evolution of contemporary revolutionary democracy, and especially its leading detachments, in the direction of scientific socialism is obviously inevitable in the future. It is still only the smaller part of it that is in the process of digression from socially limited positions and proceeding toward scientific socialism. It could not be otherwise. One must see revolutionary democracy realistically for what it is in actuality. The ideology and politics of revolutionary democracy are the direct and mediating reflection of those unusually difficult, complex and contradictory internal and external socio-economic and political conditions in which the life of the socialist-oriented states is developing.

Let's sum up the results.

Contemporary national-democratic revolutions go far beyond the conventional bourgeois-democratic framework in their goals and mission and their place in the world revolutionary process and are revolutions of a new type, striving and able under certain conditions to continue on the path to socialism.

The discussion concerns social development that expresses itself as a qualitatively new, complex, difficult and contradictory stage of social progress. The conditions that were discussed in detail above are not yet creating guarantees of the success of the course of socialist orientation itself in all cases. In considering the policies being pursued by a revolutionary democracy in this or that country, it is essential to take into account the interaction of internal and external factors, wherein the internal factor evidently remains the decisive one. The practice of the last 15-20 years testifies to this.

No political movement manages to get along without difficulties and errors. Even defeat, however, cannot stop the overall process of the growth of national-liberation revolutions into national-democratic ones, that is, the process of their socialist orientation. Revolutionary-democratic practice is associated to a large extent with the fate of socialism in the zone of national-liberation revolutions. Socialist concepts of revolutionary democracy are the closest to scientific socialism. In its socio-political content and prospects, socialist orientation has a direct relation to the core interests of the working class, which is the most purposeful fighter for the social renewal of society. The working class of the liberated countries, still young and poorly organized, gradually becomes an important socio-economic and political participant in the transformations. The working

class consequently must be considered in close relation not only to its role today, but also its participation in this process in the future as well, when its political capabilities will grow.

The unfounded criticism of the policy of socialist orientation, even approaching its denial, is equivalent to a rejection of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the possibility of the transition of economically backward countries to socialism while bypassing or abbreviating capitalist development, and it disorients the revolutionary forces of Asia and Africa. We are not even mentioning that this criticism cancels the great achievements of Soviet Oriental scholars and Africanists in researching this important topic.<sup>16</sup> This position should be repudiated as insolvent and erroneous.

Could the theory of socialist orientation be considered developed in all directions? Are all aspects of its practice completely clear? Of course not. There are still differences of opinion among scholars on these issues, which is natural, since the discussion concerns new and complex social phenomena that are in contradictory development. Far from everything has become fixed in the practice itself of this historical process. Much will have to be returned to, much will have to be studied with a regard for new social experience, some will have to elaborate and evaluate differently and more deeply. This must all be done while avoiding extremes, without embellishing reality, but without anti-historism as well. Yes, new approaches and new ideas are needed, but **correct** new ideas are needed that are founded on real historical practice and really creatively developed problems of socialist orientation. That, in our opinion, is the essence of the problem.

In conclusion, we would like to emphasize the following.

The countries of socialism and the international communist movement have seen in good time and correctly evaluated the historical significance of the policy of socialist orientation and have taken a well-founded and principled position in relation to this form of social progress, declaring the utmost support for the profound socio-economic and political transformations being pursued by the revolutionary democracies. The question of collaboration with the socialist-oriented states is part of the question of allies on a worldwide scale fighting for peace, democracy and socialism for the world communist movement and the countries of socialism.

If all of this is forgotten and the policy of socialist orientation is consigned to oblivion, there remains one possibility before our critics—to say that the liberated countries have but one prospect—capitalism. There is nothing to be said of how this not only does not correspond to the actual processes transpiring in the socialist-oriented countries, but also contradicts the vital interests of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The peoples of the socialist-oriented countries are included in the process of unification of all of the world's progressive forces in their purposeful struggle for international peace, nuclear disarmament, mutually advantageous economic collaboration and the breaking down of regional military conflicts. These countries, together with the states of the socialist world, proceed on questions of the development of mankind from the new realities and formulate a new political thinking in which the policy of socialist orientation comprises an organic constituent part.

#### Footnotes

1. "Partiya i gosudarstvo v stranakh sotsialisticheskoy oriyentatsii" [The Party and the State in Socialist-Oriented Countries]. Moscow, 1973, p 41.
2. N. Simoniya. "Strany Vostoka: puti razvitiya" [The Countries of the Orient: Paths of Development]. Moscow, 1975.
3. Ibid., p 80.
4. Ibid., p 354.
5. See, for example: G. Mirskiy. The Liberated Countries: Paths of Development.—AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1987, No 3; Vl. Li, G. Mirskiy. Socialist Orientation in Light of the New Political Thinking. Academic Dialogue.—Ibid., No 8; Yu. Aleksandrov, V. Maksimenko. Once Again on the Problem of Socialist Orientation.—Ibid., No 10; V. Sheynis. The Developing Countries and the New Political Thinking.—RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR, 1987, No 4.
6. See K. Marx and F. Engels. Works, Vol 19, p 119; Vol 22, p 446; Vol 23, p 10.
7. See, for example, his speeches at the 2nd and 3rd Congresses of the Communist International, the brochure "The Food Tax," the speech at the 2nd All-Russian Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the Orient, the letter "To the Comrades of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Dagestan and the Mountain Republic," "The Next Tasks of Soviet Power," and the discussion with a delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic of 5 Nov 21 among others.
8. See "The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums," Vol 2, Moscow, 1983.
9. "The Strategy and Tactics of the Comintern in the National-Colonial Revolution Based on China." Moscow, 1934, p 280.
10. AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1987, No 8, pp 29-30.
11. Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Moscow, 1986, p 175.
12. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 39, p 330.
13. V.L. Sheynis. The Developing Countries and the New Political Thinking.—RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR, 1987, No 4, p 80.
14. See Vl. Li, G. Mirskiy. Socialist Orientation in Light of the New Political Thinking.—AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 8, 1987.
15. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 31, p 157.
16. The following works came out in 1987 alone on the problems of socialist orientation: "Rasprostraneniye marksizma-leninizma v Afrike (Voprosy istorii, teorii i praktiki)" [The Spread of Marxism-Leninism in Africa (Questions of History, Theory and Practice)]. Edited by An.A. Gromyko. Moscow, Nauka Publishing House; Ye.K. Denisov, N.D. Kosukhin, I.V. Belikov. "Gosudarstva sotsialisticheskoy oriyentatsii: dostizheniya i perspektivy" [The Socialist-Oriented States: Achievements and Prospects]. Moscow, Znaniye Publishing House; "Theory and Practice of the Transitional Period to Socialism in the Liberated Countries. Materials of the 6th Soviet-Congolese Colloquium." Edited by Ye.N. Korendyasov and G.B. Starushenko. Moscow, Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A.S. Madatov. The Vanguard Parties of the Workers in the Socialist-Oriented Countries.—VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 12; A.S. Shin. Revolutionary-Democratic Parties in the Countries of Asia and Africa.—RABOCHIY KLAS I SOVREMENNY MIR, No 6; G. Kim. Socialist Orientation. Theory and Practice.—PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 11.

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#### Vietnam: Current Problems

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 88 pp 34-36

[Article by Ilya Fonyakov, Hanoi—Moscow, under the rubric "Travels, Meetings, Impressions": "Hanoi Beautiful and Ugly"]

[Text] It is still quite early; the light barely trickles through the wooden blinds. But life in Hanoi rushes to gather speed long before the onset of the tropical heat. I wake up from the morning noise. I hear children's voices—there is a school next door. A penetrating and prolonged ringing sounds, the children's hubbub grows stronger, the clatter of little heels on the asphalt becomes louder and more frequent, but subsides after several minutes.

Bells, bells, bells—those are bicycles. Then another ringing—longer and louder: a bicycle rickshaw with a passenger makes its way through the throng. And then the horns of motor vehicles—one, another, a third, varying force and tones. And, finally, covering all of the sounds, a motorcycle roared powerfully by...

When they told us at the airport that we were staying at the Hoan Kiem Hotel, I told my fellow travelers: "That's a comfortable and quiet hotel." That is how I remembered it from one time—small, two stories, on Hanoi's Chan Hyng Dao Street. I have no complaints whatsoever regarding the comfort. But the old quietness was gone. By the way, this was neither the first nor second time I have been to the country—time enough to master the fact that each time it is different than the last.

### Profitability and Economic Accountability

Hanoi, in my opinion, could under certain conditions have pretensions of being one of the prettiest and, in any case, most original cities in the world. The center of the thousand-year-old city is an amazingly beautiful lake. The banks around it are beloved places for evening walks. It is called Hoan Kiem Lake—the Lake of the Returned Sword. One of the districts of the capital and the hotel on Chan Hyng Dao Street also bear the same name.

In the middle of the lake is a tower called the "Cathedral of the Turtle." The shape of this elegant three-stepped structure is depicted by Vietnamese paintings on lacquer boxes and other art objects. On every trip I look at the tower and note sadly that it is still greatly dilapidated. The long and exhausting war and then the postwar difficulties—they can't get to everything.

The city itself is changing and being built—a new post office with a digital clock that can be seen from afar was built right on the shore of the lake along with a Pioneer Palace. But there is neither the time nor the manpower for the restoration of the old palaces. I had that in mind when I said that Hanoi "under certain conditions" could have pretensions of being among the most beautiful cities of the world. But much work must be done and much funding invested. And not only in the central district, at the Lake of the Returned Sword.

But the country is currently undergoing a difficult time. They are not always able to find the correct solutions to problems that arise. But the mistakes committed here are openly revealed and corrected. The principal efforts are concentrated on the economy.

I have had occasion to see the Hanoi market in different years. Sometimes its stalls were almost empty, and thus there were no customers about either. Now the market is humming with people. The carcasses of fat chickens, pork and mountains of fruit and vegetables are in the stalls. A multitude of restaurants and cafes welcome you

to the table—the prices are written in chalk on blackboards, most likely the same ones on which the downed planes were reported to the population during the war.

"A NEP?" I asked the Vietnamese journalist accompanying me.

"Not quite, of course," he elaborated. "But something like it. Apropos of our conditions."

It would be incorrect to think, however, that all problems are being resolved in this manner. The animation is evident—you can't take that away, as they say. But at the same time, the rapid rise in prices, which was not stopped, but only whipped on, by the monetary reform of 1985. Our Vietnamese comrades themselves now say that everything was not taken into account in that reform.

An acquaintance of mine came tearing up to me on a new motorcycle.

"You earned it?" I asked.

"Yeah, right," he said, throwing up his hands. "You can really buy a motorcycle for your wages? I have a sister who helped me out. She has capital. Rather, not her, her husband."

I had been speaking with my neighbor on the plane who was flying home after defending his dissertation for candidate of geological and mineralogical sciences in the USSR. His name was Suan. He related the changes in native village, where his family still lives—his elderly parents, wife and children. The land, consolidated into a cooperative, said Suan, has today been distributed among the peasant families on a contract basis. This produced a large increase in production in the very first year. An interesting detail: at first every family tried to receive the largest possible plot. Life convinced them, however, that this was not always advantageous: you get more land and you have to sell more produce to the state. The peasants began to weigh their manpower and consider, taking exactly as much land that could be worked suitably by the manpower of the family and obtaining the best possible harvest from it. In order to fulfill the plan and have more left over, including to sell at the market. An increase was thus achieved via intensive rather than extensive methods, it could be said.

The wages for workers at state enterprises were raised considerably not long ago.

"Our workers now receive up to three and a half thousand dong a month," they told me at the textile mill in the city of Namdin.

"That can't be!" I burst out, used to figures in the range of several hundred.

They thought they had offended me a little.

"We don't intend to deceive you," they said. "We could add that whereas recently we were having personnel problems, today there is no respite from those wishing to work. That's not all: the wages are not being raised arbitrarily, but in close concert with the profitability of the enterprise and its income. Each must have a vested interest in working better."

Everything that was said naturally relates to Hanoi as well, which is not only the capital, but also the largest industrial center of the country. And it is not for nothing that one hears the words "profitability" and "economic accountability" more and more often here.

Of course, even the most popular words cannot solve problems—we know that as no one else. But it is also a mistake to underestimate the word. There are words that express the essence of whole historical periods. It seems, for example, that historians will not forget to note that in the second half of the 1980's, the word "*perestroika*" was the most important one in the Soviet Union. And those occupied with the history of Vietnam may well record that a restructuring was underway in that country as well during the same years. Criticism and self-criticism have been developing here, and the city residents are lining up for the latest issues of the newspapers, which are publishing sharp and topical material.

"We, by way of example, recently printed a sharp article on the director of a clock plant who took revenge on those who criticized him," a member of the editorial board of the newspaper HANOI NEWS, Tien Thao, related to me. "We unmasked the director of a plant who was taking bribes from subordinates when deciding who to recommend for trips abroad. The swindlers, the 'heroes' of an article on machinations around a sacred cause—the protection of motherhood and childhood—especially troubled our readers. Obtaining foreign-currency funding from international organizations, the cheats connived to accumulate considerable sums. It is not very pleasant to write about such things. But we understand that it is necessary! Necessary for a cleansing, to move forward. And your experience serves as an example and a point of reference for us."

I was convinced of that more than once. One day they even asked: what are "unsinkable ships?"—the expression had appeared in the Soviet press.

"'Unsinkable ships,'" I answered, "are what we call some managers who, having messed up in one high position, get another one right away—also a supervisory one. You probably don't have any of those?"

My interlocutors started to laugh: "Plenty! But we fight them as well as we can."

Personnel issues are also acute here. New managers—young, energetic and competent—are arriving to replace the old managers who were schooled in war, often truly devoted to the cause but insufficiently educated and trained. This process, as elsewhere, is not a painless one.

At the Association of Literary and Artistic Figures in the capital, we saw a photo exhibition titled "Hanoi Beautiful and Ugly." "Beautiful" Hanoi—this is, of course, the Lake of the Returned Sword, the Western Lake (a large lake on the outskirts of the city where the rest zone begins) and the new Palace of Culture. And the new Thang Long Bridge over the Red River. Once there was one bridge, now there are three. Today only bicyclists and pedestrians move across the old one, narrow and crowded, in place of the former kilometers-long procession of motor vehicles.

And just what is "ugly" about Hanoi from the point of view of the Hanoi residents themselves? A bus packed to the gills with bicycles hoisted onto the roof. Linen hung to dry where it shouldn't be ("The street is not a yard!" says the edifying caption). Little boys playing soccer right in the road... In general, the familiar difficulties of a big city as seen by partial and exacting eyes. The eyes of a person who loves his city and wants it to look as good as possible.

#### Master Craftsmen

I love to roam the streets in Hanoi. The people here, despite their difficult life, are open and receptive: smile and you can be sure that you will get a smile back in return.

I have a favorite small cafe into which I wandered one day quite by accident. I saw a wall hung with pictures through a half-open door. The manner of execution of one of the pictures seemed surprisingly familiar.

"Buy Suan Fay?" I asked the host who appeared from behind the partition.

"*Fay, Fay!* (Yes, yes!)" he nodded happily.

We were unable to say anything more to each other. But a tall glass of strong coffee with ice appeared on the table a minute later. And the curious eyes of the proprietor's children goggled from behind the partition.

"You were in the Laya Cafe," my friends told me later. "Artists love to go there, and they give him their pictures."

On one side street I saw a tiny studio where a master artist worked. Before him was a heap of mother-of-pearl shells. The craftsman removed a layer of mother-of-pearl with a delicate tool and carved a simple pattern from it that was to inlay the polished lid of a black box.

There was another artist nearby in his own studio. He was old and dressed in a short quilted smock with slits in the sides. His implements were a brush and a compass-measure, and his specialty was the manufacture of portraits from photographs. No, the artist did not just copy the photo. The examples of his work were testimony to that. In the lower left corner of the frame was a passport photo of an elderly man in a threadbare work shirt with a tired and lined face. In the painting it was him too, but in what changed form! Ancient embroidered clothing fell in great folds to the floor, his hand rested on a small table with a bouquet of flowering chrysanthemums in a magnificent vase and there was contentment on his face. The worldly concerns of this worker had perhaps never known such dress or such a state of the soul. But now there was no reason to be ashamed of putting his portrait on the altar of the ancestors that exists in many Vietnamese homes, or simply on a shelf of honor.

The art of making memorial portraits from photographs is very widespread in Vietnam. In one town in the south I saw a shop where they were sewn from colored thread rather than painted. A sort of bas-relief resulted instead of a two-dimensional representation. The shop enjoyed widespread popularity, and I was specially brought to see this local marvel. Truthfully speaking, however, the sewn portraits, with an undoubted likeness to the photographs, still did not seem to me to be the models of good taste demonstrated by the old man in Hanoi.

Wandering about the city, I stopped in a small bookshop. On the shelves were the names of Aytmatov, Tendryakov and other Soviet writers. Alongside were Holsworthy and Hugo. The sheet music included Grieg's "Norwegian Dance" and Brahms's "Hungarian Dance." I recalled how during the war, a young man in military uniform was leafing through the score of Shostakovich's opera "Katerina Ismaylova." He turned out to be the conductor of a military ensemble, and he was interested in the opera for the future—the war wouldn't last forever!

"Nguyen Tuan? Nguyen Din Thi?" I cited to the salesgirls the names of well-known contemporary Vietnamese writers. They shook their heads no: no, the books of those authors had no market...

I went out to the famous Badin parade ground, where the mausoleum to Ho Chi Minh and the former governor's, and now the president's, palace rise up. I had occasion to meet the poet president there one day. It was at the beginning of 1966, on my first trip to the country. A Soviet party and government delegation was visiting

Vietnam then, and journalists were invited to take part in the meeting. It proceeded in very unconstrained fashion. After a concert of Vietnamese artists, we all sang together the old song "Along the Valleys and Hills," and Ho Chi Minh, in his unchanging linen suit and his bare feet in sandals, smiled and conducted.

"Our president is very happy, isn't he?" whispered a young Vietnamese in glasses standing next to me.

This time I saw the president in the mausoleum on that same Badin Square. An unbroken line of people stretched to the entrance: city residents, peasants, soldiers, children in red neckerchiefs. After visiting the mausoleum I was shown the modest and light house in which "Uncle Ho" had worked in the adjoining park. The enormous fish that he loved to feed in the mornings swam up to the small dock in the pond.

The city noise, muffled a little, still reached here, reminding me that Hanoi lives, Hanoi works and Hanoi is building the future.

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### U.S.-Israeli-South African Arms Tie Alleged

18070168[Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 16 June 1988 carries on page 3 a 600-word article by V. Vinogradov assailing Israeli-South African cooperation, particularly in the production of nuclear weapons. Vinogradov claims that in recent years, Tel Aviv has been the most prominent arms supplier to the Pretoria regime. He further notes that not infrequently these are American-made arms and thus, "The United States actively uses the 'Israeli channel' to restock racist arsenals." Vinogradov claims that "In exchange for South African uranium, Tel Aviv sends corresponding technology and nuclear physicists to the apartheid state. Military specialists from both countries are combining efforts to develop and create delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons—submarines and missiles." He concludes that "The deepening compact between Tel Aviv and Pretoria and the obvious patronage which Washington renders to it cannot but evoke well-founded concern among the African and Arab publics."

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### Centralism, Independence in Foreign Trade Discussed

18250053 Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 18, Apr 88 p 5

[Article by Yu. Shamray, candidate of economic sciences, under "Improvement of Foreign Economic Relations" rubric: "Centralism and Independence"]

[Excerpt]

#### Dialectic Approach

V.I. Lenin noted the possibility of different stages and forms of state foreign trade monopoly—from "absolute," when the foreign trade monopoly is run by only one authorized state agency, to "liberal," in which the forms and methods of carrying out foreign economic activity become more varied and flexible while maintaining state control. In characterizing the granting of the right to some enterprises to go to the foreign market that was practiced as early as the 1920s, V.I. Lenin stressed that here the absolute foreign trade monopoly is replaced by a "liberal monopoly but certainly and in any case a monopoly."

The utilization of the revolutionary dialectics of Leninist ideas on the organizational principles and forms for the implementation of socialist foreign trade is becoming especially pressing under present-day conditions, when a new strategy is being realized for the development of our country's foreign economic relations.

In the mid-1980s, the foreign economic relations of the USSR in the scope of the state foreign trade monopoly were carried out by associations and organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, the USSR Ministry of Trade, the State Committee for Cinematography, the State Committee for Science and Technology, Gossnab, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, the All-Union Copyright Agency, and the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The center of gravity of all foreign economy activity, however, was the specialized foreign trade associations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade.

With the immeasurably increased scope of the domestic economy, its multiplan structure, and the accelerated dynamism of international economic and scientific-technical relations, the concentration of the functions of the state foreign trade monopoly primarily in one agency contradicted the interests of the effective participation of the USSR in the international division of labor. Certain decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the restructuring of the administration of the foreign economic complex are aimed at eliminating this conflict and at transforming foreign relations into an accelerator of the country's economic

and scientific-technical development. The reforms in this area are a direct continuation and development of the restructuring of the internal economic mechanism providing for an expansion of the independence and responsibility of enterprises and associations and all links of the economy in the interests of accelerating scientific-technical progress and raising the efficiency of the national economy.

In decentralizing foreign economy activity, of course, one must not permit a strengthening of narrow departmental interests in the area under consideration or the associated irrational use of funds for imports or the excessive expansion of exports. It is extremely undesirable to diminish coordination in the area of prices and foreign exchange accounts.

To avoid such occurrences, the foreign economic independence of different branches and enterprises is expanded while simultaneously strengthening superdepartmental centralized regulation, coordination and control. The premises of the improvement of the management of this field of activity dictated the establishment of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, the uniting of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations in the larger new USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and the restructuring and closer coordination of the corresponding work of USSR Gosplan, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Foreign Economic Bank and other state agencies.

#### Role of Economic Instruments

The problem, of course, is not resolved merely through administrative reforms. Even more important is the transition from the centralized management of foreign economic activity to primarily economic methods and instruments of action. Specifically for the agencies in the area of foreign economic relations (Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, State Committee for Science and Technology and others), this means a greater and greater departure from day-to-day commercial functions in the direction of the implementation of mainly strategic and standard methodological functions of management and administration.

The regulation of foreign economic relations for the purpose of making the interests of the primary economic link correspond to national economic interests is called upon to play a special role. Regulation can take place through such means as the making of agreements between states, licensing, the introduction of quotas on the export and import of certain types of production, and through planning and cost-accounting means.

In particular, the plan for foreign exchange receipts and other planning instruments are most advantageous for regulating the volumes and basic all-union proportions of foreign trade relations. They can be an instrument for



balancing the national foreign economic complex and supporting tendencies in it that correspond to the main directions of contemporary scientific-technical progress.

It is also expedient to utilize some of the planning controls—the plan for payments into the budget or the plan for profit from foreign economic activity—for maintaining the efficiency of the foreign economic relations of the entire country at the necessary level. This goal could be served by instruments regulating the basic parameters of the effect from specific foreign economic operations: long-term standards for the effectiveness of exports and imports and the foreign trade turnover as a whole; price limits; control over the dynamics of the efficiency indicators and price estimates as well as over the utilization of market conditions.

The system for the regulation of exports and imports in the interests of the state as a whole must also include such means of foreign economic policy as customs duties and the tariff, which for us are still purely symbolic in nature.

#### Priority of Production

To a considerable extent, the effective functioning of the new structure of the foreign economic complex depends upon the flexible utilization of different forms of the organizational combination of the production link with foreign trade activity.

Today the practice has been to establish specialized foreign trade associations in a number of branches as well as firms in individual major production associations and enterprises. They work under cost accounting principles, which creates the conditions for including the results of foreign trade in the overall sum of the economic activity of the branches and enterprises, contributes to the establishment of direct ties of the branches and enterprises with the world market and raises the responsibility and incentive of the basic economic link in the work in foreign markets.

But this development of organizational forms of foreign trade, taking place primarily at the branch base and being progressive in relation to the previous system, also in part limits the scope of the improvement of foreign trade activity. The fact is that the branch approach hinders the intensification of interbranch ties and the realization of the possibilities of multibranch complexes. Meanwhile, today it is precisely at the junction of branches where the basic discoveries of present-day technology are concentrated and where economically significant results are being achieved from their introduction.

The branch departmental scope is narrow for such progressive forms of collaboration as industrial cooperation or licensed trade. In addition, independent foreign trade firms and associations can be established only in major

production associations and in enterprises. Relatively small and medium-sized enterprises must not find themselves outside the sphere of the new trends of foreign economic activity.

#### Directions of the New Search

The further improvement of the organizational forms of foreign economic activity could be sought in the direction guaranteeing the greatest possible mobilization of the export resources of the maximum number of production units, a higher level and quality of goods delivered for export, and a rationalization of our imports. One such way is the establishment of trade and production associations that would include producers of output and foreign trade organizations.

As world practice shows, the association can successfully unite the producers in different branches and a particular foreign trade organization in one independent juridical person that as a unit decides questions in the production and sale of output. A specific variety of such a version could be a foreign trade joint-stock company serving the interests of a number of shareholding organizations from different branches. Distribution of the profit among the shareholders in proportion to their financial contribution would ensure mutual interest in the financial results of foreign economic activity and thus would contribute to the optimum resolution of the problem of the direct participation in the foreign market not only of large but also of medium-sized and small enterprises.

In the large-scale interbranch approach to the improvement of the organizational forms of foreign trade, it is not required that all ministries and enterprises with the right to enter the foreign market "acquire" their own foreign trade organizations and bear the burden of the associated financial, personnel and other expenditures.

One of the ways to improve can be the establishment of competitive conditions in the work of foreign trade organizations with respect to domestic consumers and producers. It would be advisable to ensure the buyers of imported goods and the producers of exports the possibility of choosing between a minimum of two foreign trade organizations in the sale of their output in the world market or in providing for their import needs.

It is precisely under such conditions that the right granted to the production link to determine the very best conditions for foreign trade transactions when entering into economic agreements with foreign trade associations can be realized. It appears that here we are dealing with one of those cases of competition between Soviet organizations in the external market, which is fully admissible and can lead to an increase in the effectiveness of foreign economic work without harming the national economy.

**'Favorable' Conditions For Kampuchean Settlement**

18070155 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 July 1988 carries on page 5 a 600-word article by Petr Tsvetov about the steps being taken to settle the conflict in Southeast Asia. Tsvetov notes that after 6 months, by the end of this year, the Vietnamese military contingent will be reduced by half—to 50,000 people. He states that the reduction in the number of Vietnamese military troops and civilian advisors is a direct result of the PRK's strengthened position in the internal political, economic, and military areas. Tsvetov quotes Chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers Hun Sen at a Phnom Penh news conference: "The National Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea is able to solve the problems before it on its own. At the present time, the situation in Kampuchea is favorable." Tsvetov states that the withdrawal of a significant part of the Vietnamese volunteers will create good conditions for further progress toward a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

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**Sino-Soviet Friendship Society Head Interviewed During USSR Visit**

18070172 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 27 July 1988 carries on page 5 a 300-word article reporting the official visit of a delegation from the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society to the Soviet Union. The Chinese delegation, headed by Society chairman Su Zheyuan, visited Moscow, Leningrad, Riga and Yalta. In response to PRAVDA correspondent I. Nekrasov's question about China's economic reforms, Su Zheyuan replies: "Our long-term 50-year program to increase the GNP four times will give us the opportunity to approach the level of developed countries..." Concerning Soviet-Chinese youth contacts, Su Zheyuan says: "...I am convinced that the exchange between the youth of the USSR and the PRC will be further developed. A month ago, the chairman of the Chinese Youth Federation visited the Soviet Union and discussed possibilities for expanding these exchanges. Lastly, 20 Chinese children were sent to the international pioneer camp ARTEK." As for holding a PRC festival in the Soviet Union, Su Zheyuan states: "I do not exclude this but consider it a promising form for developing our contacts."

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**Najibullah Proposes Political Party For Afghan Businessmen**

18070173 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 22 July 1988 carries on page 7 a 400-word article by B. Kotov on the results of a 2-day National Conference of Private Businessmen in the Kabul Interkontinental hotel (no date given). He reports that 349 businessmen and 35 artisans, representing all of the country's provinces, participated in the conference. Kotov states that "80 percent of all goods circulated in the country pass through the hands of private businessmen." He quotes Afghan President Najibullah speaking at the conference: "In implementing the national reconciliation policy, we are devoting particular attention to increasing state assistance to the private sector of the national economy." Najibullah reportedly asked the con-

ference participants to consider the question of establishing a political party of Afghan private businessmen. "This party would be able to nominate candidates to the National Council (parliament), as well as receive several posts in the government, to render substantial assistance in strengthening the political coalition and the unity of all of the country's progressive forces." In his concluding statement, Najibullah reportedly emphasized that the audience is using not only its words, but its capital to support the national reconciliation policy. Kotov notes that the conference participants "unanimously favored creating a national organization of private businessmen." The conference's final resolution states that this association would be able to play an active role in the conduct of the national reconciliation policy, in the country's socio-economic development, and in the organization of the supply of goods to the population.

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